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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. IV, No. 3 Spring 1994

This Quarter's Theme:

End of the Migration Epoch?

End of the Migration Epoch? — John H. Tanton

Immigration and Integration: Challenge for the 1990s — Philip L. Martin

Social and Economic Origins of Immigration — Douglas L. Massey

Beware the Third World — Malcolm W. Browne

America Undone — Samuel P. Huntington

The Administration of U.S. Immigration Policy — Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, REVIEWS AND REPORTAGE ON:
population growth, language, assimilation,
culture, and the environment.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** shall we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

JOHN TANTON
Petoskey, Michigan

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

WAYNE LUTTON
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR

ROBERT KYSER
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR

ROY BECK
1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Room 410
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone (202) 265-1179

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS

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Three Cheers for *The Atlantic Monthly* — Editorial

It may seem odd or at least unusual for one magazine to tout another, but we would like to call attention to the fine job *The Atlantic Monthly* is doing in raising the immigration topic for its approximately 475,000 readers. It seems that every three or four months an article appears bearing on the subject.

Going back just two years: in May and June of 1992, the editors published William Langwiesche's two-part article, "The Border," laying out the situation along the U.S.-Mexican frontier and the difficulties of controlling traffic across it. Then, in August of the same year they ran Robert Kaplan's "Tales from the Bazaar" on the people at the Arab desk at the State Department, a topic not unrelated to immigration policy. Jack Miles's seminal essay "Blacks vs. Browns" appeared in October. It opened new channels of thought and communication on the role played in the Los Angeles riots earlier that year by conflict between long-resident blacks and Hispanic and Korean newcomers.

In February, 1993, Charles C. Mann's "How Many is Too Many?" appeared, highlighting the key population question. James Fallow's three-part economics series ran in the November/December 1993 and January 1994 issues. These articles presented the differences in culture and economic philosophy between East and West.

In February, 1994, Robert Kaplan was back in print with his powerful "The Coming Anarchy." This article has been widely noticed and lays out in chilling fashion the coming disorder in the Third World and what it portends for migration pressure.

We have understandable pride in *The Atlantic Monthly*'s April issue of this year. It includes "The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau" written by THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's Washington Editor, Roy Beck. This essay explores the effects on a small midwestern town of a heavy immigrant influx — a story with which many other similarly situated communities will be able to identify. (See Wayne Lutton's review of the Beck article on page 231.)

The Atlantic Monthly's editors have been performing a public service by illuminating a difficult topic. We hope they will persist.

* * *

In THE SOCIAL CONTRACT our focus this month is on the population "push" pressures underlying international migration. The lead article "End of the Migration Epoch?" asks how much longer massive international migration can go on, and then sets forth a new paradigm and a set of ethical principles to govern migration policy. Next, Philip Martin writes about the importance of immigration "networks," and lays out his "Grand Bargain." Douglas Massey also discusses networking and analyzes other migration push and pull factors.

Malcolm Browne, a Pulitzer Prize-winning correspondent for the *New York Times*, paints a threatening picture of the Third World. It is reminiscent of Kaplan's *Atlantic* article, "The Coming Anarchy," which I again recommend for your reading list (the one you *will* get to, not the never-to-be-read list!)

We close the feature section with an excerpt from Samuel Huntington's response to the critics of his Summer, 1993, *Foreign Affairs* article, "The Clash of Civilizations?" (also highly recommended reading) and with Vernon Briggs's call for transferring INS administration back to the Labor Department. As a final tidbit, we offer a listing of the Ford Foundation's grants over the past 25 years to organizations opposing immigration control.

Together with gleanings from other publications and a book-review section designed to help *shorten* your reading list, we hope you will want to spend an evening with this issue.

John Tanton
Editor and Publisher

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I would like to clarify some statements ascribed to me in Mr. Robert McConnell's article, "Conference: Ethics of Immigration," (THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Winter 1993-94), and amplify upon others.

- While my remarks did include my opinion that "the American family needs time to heal itself," and while I oppose the current high levels of immigration, I do not support a moratorium on immigration.
- While I did say that over 100 million people today live in countries other than those in which they were born, I did not mean to suggest that they would all move here if they could (though several million would).
- While the United States takes in many refugees, I stated that this country annually resettles more immigrants and refugees than the rest of the world combined.
- While I suggested that the U.S. should emphasize the skills of newcomers, and reduce the emphasis on family reunification, I believe that the reunification of immediate family members — spouses, sons and daughters, — should be retained.

My reference to the present policy generating a "false sense of entitlement" referred to other than immediate family members who are caught in a vast backlog. Specifically, immigration experts have suggested that their technical eligibility to immigrate legally in the distant future may encourage them to immigrate illegally today.

Sincerely,
Richard Estrada
Irving, Texas

* * *

Editor:

[Re: Mark Wegierski's review of *Population Versus Liberty* (1971) and *Population Fallacies* (1977), THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Vol. IV, No. 2, Winter 1993-94, pp. 149-152]

Although both of these books are still in print and selling slowly it is not every day that works over twenty years old are re-reviewed at all — let alone favorably. For these reasons I acknowledge at the outset my deep gratitude to the editor, Dr. John Tanton, for bringing this about, and to Mr. Wegierski for the prompt, fair-minded, and scholarly way in which he has discharged the assignment. However, I also welcome the opportunity to comment on two important points which I seem to have failed to get across clearly enough. First a quick one on the inevitable end of economic growth.

The reviewer says that "influenced ... by the 1970s mindset ... [the author] over-optimistically suggests that economic growth will have to stop at the stage where everyone is a millionaire." (p.151). I did say this but I meant stop at this level *at the very latest*, and not "continue until everybody gets there." I added, (p. 237); "Of course the 'millionaire barrier' is an arbitrary concept ..." and in my first publication of the thesis (of which this brief section of the book had to be a potted version) I spelled out; "If we all did reach the millionaire's standard of living ... it is interesting to speculate who would generate the goods and services we would all want to consume. Would they be generated by machinery? Would differentials increase so much that even at that average level of income enough people were kept in sufficient poverty to make them work? Or would we be able to persuade the mass of people to go on working more or less as they do now, regardless of how multi-multi-millionaire they become?" [Parsons, J. *The Economic Transition* (1975, pp.11-12). In the book I hoped it was clear — though I must admit I didn't spell it out — that this was a *reductio* ..., a thought-experiment conducted tongue-in-cheek, and that the exponential never-never land demonstrates the utter absurdity of the "growthmanship" mentality.

On the even more fundamental issue of population control versus liberty, Mr. Wegierski appears to go along with my analysis of the complex relationships between population growth, control, and individual liberty until very near the end, where he then states: "[I do not] really accept the [Parsons] thesis combining population control and individual liberty. The situation is simply too far gone today." (p.151).

As my theory was intended to be universalistic in both time and space I am naturally rather perturbed by this and so try to justify it by restating the bare bones, as follows:

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1. In social systems, individual liberty is basically produced, rather than destroyed, by social controls — by the rule of law.

2. It is also affected by environmental factors, including population dynamics.

3. Therefore, net individual liberty at any given time and place, in both amount and kind, is a result of the interaction of all the factors operating there and then. (Notably the quantity and quality of: a) resources, b) population, and c) social controls.)

In general terms the theory states that as population size changes, up or down, it improves some existing microfreedoms and/or adds some new ones, while at the same time reducing and/or removing some of the pre-existing ones. Similarly with controls. Each one removes or modifies one or more existing microfreedoms in order to enhance others, and/or to create entirely new ones.

My would-be objective analysis of the range of relationship between the liberty-affecting variables was — and still is — accompanied by a moral and political *cri de coeur* for us to get our act together and apply the necessary population controls (I have in mind ecological education, greater justice and equity between competing groups, voluntary birth control, tax and other (dis)incentives, etc.) early enough rather than too late.

The key issue is optimization, of quantity and quality, of exploitation of scarce resources, of social controls, and of numbers. With a world population anywhere between one person and however many billions it would take to have us all crowded so closely together that we cannot raise our arms, we can still analyze the amounts and types of population, of the elements of the social control regime accompanying these variables, and of the resultant restrictions and freedoms. It follows that while no society can be either too undeveloped or "too far gone" to apply this analysis, all too clearly societies can be much too far gone for a sane and civilized existence; Mr. Wegierski may be right, there.

However that may be, I would still urge that at any stage short of ultimate disaster, an appropriately modified social control policy could a) prevent further deterioration — including any along the dimension of individual liberty — and, possibly, b) gradually turn the corner and begin the return to a more sustainable system. I hope that my simple proposals could help policymaking in this sphere.

Jack Parsons
Wales

* * *

High-Priced Immigrants

Donald Huddle, a Texas economist, has culculated that in 1992, immigrants — both legal and illegal — cost American taxpayers $42.5 billion in direct costs alone. That figure reflects government spending of $62.7 billion (public schooling, Medicaid, welfare, food stamps, bilingual education, and the unemployment compensation paid to Americans pushed out of jobs) minus the $20.2 billion in taxes paid by immigrants. Of course, on top of this, immigranst got a free ride for all government services that are not considered handouts: police and fire protection, highway construction, libraries, parks, military security, etc. Also not included in Professor Huddle's reckoning are crowding, pollution, and environmental compliance costs for millions of newcomers, as well as the disproportionate crime rates of immigrants. The cost of cultural and racial displacement is beyond calculation.

— *American Renaissance*, Volume 5, Number 4, April 1994.

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John Tanton is editor and publisher of The Social Contract. *A practicing physician, he has worked on population issues for 35 years, and on immigration policy for 25.[1] In this article, he summarizes the demographic view of international migration.*

End of the Migration Epoch?

Time For a New Paradigm

By John H. Tanton

Prologue

Adage tells us that we often "don't see the forest for the trees." Nowhere is this more true than in immigration policy: the complexity of immigration law or the plight of individual migrants tends to narrow our focus and bog us down in minutiae.

This paper backs away from the details and examines the bigger picture — in the longer run. It explores the three "pillars" on which the contemporary migration edifice is built: population growth engendered by public and personal health measures, better transportation, and better communications. It closes with a new paradigm for understanding migration phenomena, and with a new set of ethical principles to guide immigration policy in the 21st century.

In the Beginning

The human migration story begins with our earliest forebears. Divergent schools of thought on our origins nonetheless agree that humans were initially few in number and far between. From very modest beginnings we have gradually spread across the globe.

Our ancestors were apparently nomadic peoples. Hunters and gatherers, they moved when local stocks of animals and plants were exhausted, or simply followed the seasons and the migrations of animals on which they preyed. Later, a more settled pattern developed with slash-and-burn or rotating agriculture. People moved on when nutrients ran low or weeds took over. Even after a more permanent agricultural system evolved, people pushed out from the historic population epicenters and resettled, if only locally.[2]

Demographers estimate that at the beginning of the Common Era world population was about 150 million. Although humans had by this time spread a considerable distance from their places of origin, the most dense populations remained in the Mideast, southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Figure 1 approximates the demographic situation in 1 A.D.[3]

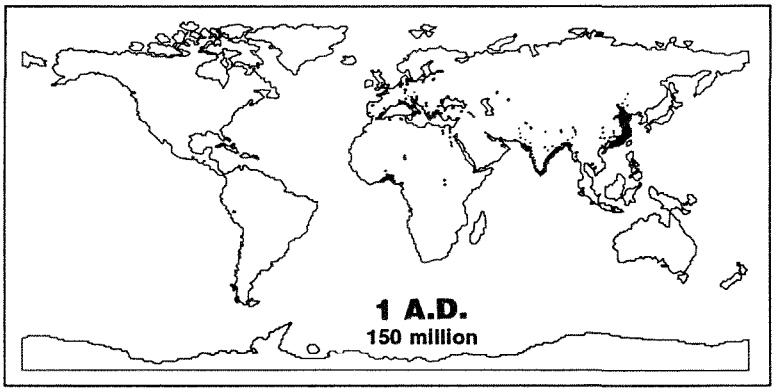

Figure 1
(Each dot represents one million people.)[3]

Populations were relatively stable during the first millennium A.D. due to the historic demographic balance of a high birthrate, matched by an equally high death rate. Together they dictated a short life expectancy — about 25 years at the height of the Roman Empire. There was only slow change until 1350 A.D.; demographers estimate that by then the population had doubled to about 300 million. Figure 2 roughly depicts this growth. Note that vast areas of the globe were very sparsely settled, and that humans were only gradually spreading from their places of origin. The Americas were scantily populated, even though the forerunners of the American Indians had crossed the Bering Strait some 25,000 years before.

The plagues of 1350-1450 actually reduced population somewhat, but by 1600 human numbers

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had recovered and were beginning to grow more rapidly, reaching about 500 million — approximately three times that of 1 A.D.

I. The 1600s and Pillar One: Public health measures, pre-modern medicine, and the beginnings of the population explosion

During the seventeenth century, the foundations were laid for the first of three main pillars that account for the migration dilemmas we face three centuries later. Scientific and medical discoveries led eventually to the first public health practices and, much later, to modern individualized health care. These both ultimately reduced death rates while disturbing high birth rates very little, leading to the unprecedented growth of human numbers we see today.

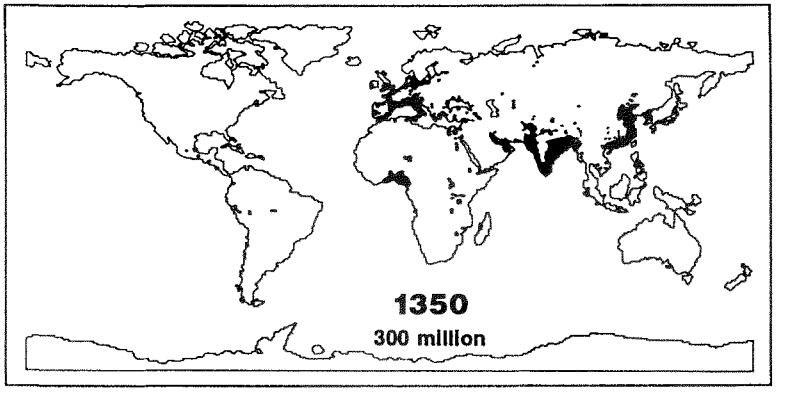

Figure 2

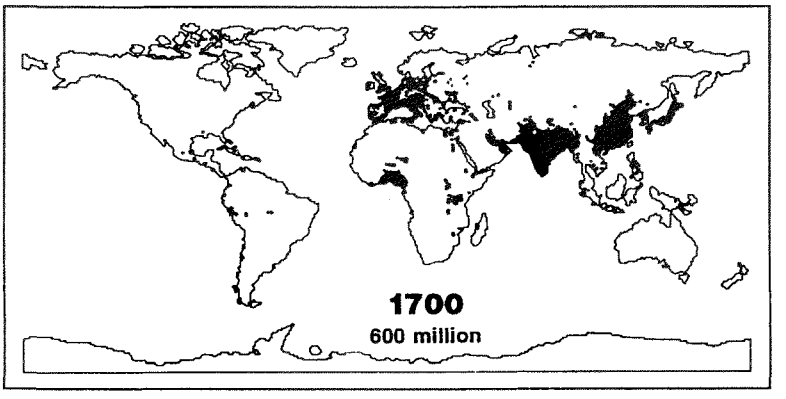

Figure 3

A quick survey of the medical highlights of the 1600s shows that Barelli[4] did pioneering work on human physiology, as did Santario. In 1626, the latter was the first to measure human temperature with a thermometer. In 1619, the Royal College of Physicians in London issued its first pharmacopoeia, presaging today's compilations on drugs. Harvey announced his seminal discovery of the circulation of the blood in the same year. Quinine came into use in the 1640s, as did arsenic. The Dutch physician, Diemerbrock, published a book on the plague in 1649. Books on anatomy and surgery appeared. Willis described typhoid fever in 1659; midwifery forceps followed in 1665; a description of diabetes appeared in 1670. The first medical treatise written in the Americas was published in 1678, discussing smallpox and measles. These were all forerunners of today's public health practices and powerful medical technology.

Perhaps most significantly, in 1674 the Dutchman Leeuwenhoek first saw microbes with a microscope he had invented, paving the way for the germ theory of disease and the discovery of antibiotics. But the story of civilization is not one of uninterrupted progress; in 1697, Daniel Defoe first recommended the adoption of an income tax!

Figure 3 shows the demographic situation at the close of the 1600s: the human population was about 600 million, four times that of our starting point of 150 million.

II. The 1700s and Pillar Two: The industrial and transportation revolutions

The 18th century saw the early development of the second pillar on which modern-day migration problems rest: the self-reinforcing industrial and transportation revolutions. The central figure in these advances was surely James Watt, with his inventions relating to the steam engine.

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Beginning in 1765, the 28-year old Watt invented a condenser to recapture energy from waste steam and thus increase the energy efficiency of steam power. By 1769, he had patented his steam engine. In 1781, he invented the gears that converted the engine's reciprocal motion into the rotary motion of a shaft, highly important for applications to transportation.

In 1782, Watt constructed a more efficient double-acting engine, in which the piston was pushed from both sides. Then in 1784, he came up with what he considered his most ingenious invention, which he called "parallel motion." It was a new way for connecting a piston to a shaft. He followed up with his centrifugal governor in 1788, a pressure gauge in 1790, and then a counter, an indicator, and a throttle valve.

While Watt's engine powered the industrial revolution, it also revolutionized transportation. By 1783, d'Abbans had installed a steam engine in a paddle wheel boat. In 1804, Trevithick built the first steam locomotive.

Overseas travel was further aided by Vitus Bering, Captain James Cook, Louis-Antoine Bougainville, and George Vancouver, who explored the globe and made maps. Navigators improved their instruments, allowing more accurate determination of latitude. The British Parliament in 1714 offered a £20,000 prize for the discovery of a method of calculating longitude within 30 miles during a sea voyage. The Englishman, John Harrison, solved this age-old problem and won the prize by inventing a highly accurate and durable chronometer, tested in 1761-62. Lighthouses were built, improving safety on the seas.

The first cast iron bridge was built in 1773, foreshadowing bridging capabilities beyond those allowed by wood and stone. Extensive canal systems were dug in Europe (and started in the American colonies) to transport fuel, food and fiber.

Heralding yet another transport revolution, the Montgolfier brothers flew the first lighter-than-air fire balloon in 1783.

Other industrial changes that I won't detail improved the living conditions of the populace, increasing health and life expectancy, and hence human numbers. The result when combined with better transportation: more people who were more mobile.

During the 1700s, the public health and medical fields continued to evolve, addressing chiefly infectious disease. A veterinary school opened in 1761, starting us toward control of animal-borne diseases, such as undulant fever and bovine tuberculosis. In 1776, Jenner introduced small pox vaccination, reducing the death rate. This ancient scourge had killed 10 to 20 percent of those infected — which was nearly everyone, for it is an extremely virulent disease.

Advancing us along the road toward better individual health care, Fahrenheit invented the mercury thermometer in 1714. Aymaud did the first surgery for appendicitis in 1731 (without anesthesia, probably just draining an abscess). Chest percussion (important for detecting tuberculosis) came along in 1761, the same year that Morgagni launched the study of pathological anatomy.

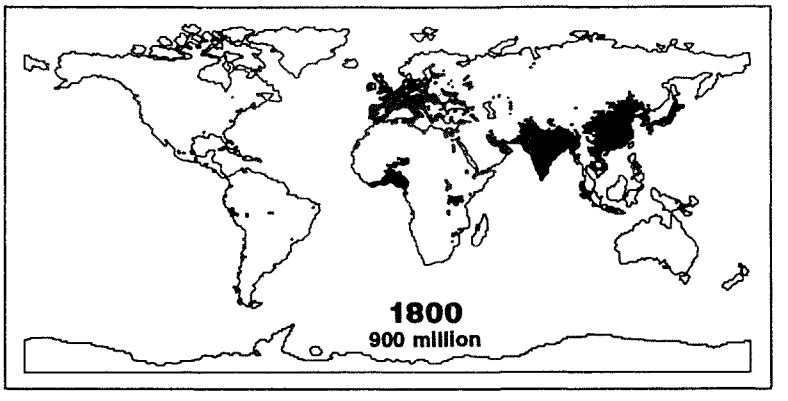

Figure 4

Figure 4 approximates the demographic situation at the close of this second century of major industrial, transportation, public health, and medical advances. Humans now numbered about 900 million — six times the population used as the starting point for this paper.

III. The 1800s and Pillar Three: Better communications

By 1800, two of the three pillars undergirding today's migration problems were well in place and

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undergoing rapid development. First, public health improvements combined with better living conditions had started to cut the death rate and engender population growth — the principle "push" factor in human migration. Second, transportation improvements launched in the 1700s and advanced in the 1800s made it possible in the 1900s to move huge numbers of people long distances with greater speed, safety, and ease, at a moderate cost.

The 1800s witnessed the early development of the third pillar that supports today's mass international migration: improved communications. This century — the first electrical century — produced a virtual pantheon of electrical greats, like Faraday, Maxwell, Morse, and Marconi, who laid the foundations for the communications revolution.

Ampère set down the laws of electrical dynamic action in 1820. Faraday described electromagnetic rotation in 1821, discovered electromagnetic induction in 1831, conceptualized electrical and magnetic lines of force in 1832, and in 1834 wrote the Law of Electrolysis (of great importance in chemistry). Ohm formulated his Law of Potential and Resistance in 1827. Wheatstone invented his bridge for electrical measurements in 1833. By 1834, Morse had installed a functioning telegraph between Baltimore and Washington and had developed his Morse code. A printing telegraph appeared in 1856. Lord Kelvin invented the galvanometer in 1858. Maxwell published his famous and fundamental equations in 1865. Edison improved the telegraph in 1872, and Bell invented the telephone in 1876.

But then the limitation of the wire was broken! Hertz reported on the nature of radio waves in 1888, and the 21-year old Marconi announced the invention of the wireless telegraph in 1895; it utilized the Morse code. As the century closed, Fessenden transmitted human speech by radio waves for the first time.

The stage was now set for the inexpensive and nearly instantaneous transmission of information to the most remote corners of the globe, where it could stimulate interest in migration. (Some years ago, herdsmen in East Africa actually held up their annual migration for two weeks so they could watch the last episodes of *Dallas*!) Improvements in transportation enabled masses of people to migrate, either to fulfill their highest hopes or to escape their worst fears. And migrate they did, by the tens of millions.

Further Medical Advances

These movements will be reviewed shortly, but first let us note the continued evolution of the public health, medical, and transportation fields.

In 1827, Simpson developed sand filters to purify the London water supply, of obvious benefit to the city's public health. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. wrote a paper on puerperal (childbirth) fever in 1843. The obstetrician Semmelweiss discovered the contagious nature of puerperal fever, and as a preventative, advised his fellow physicians in 1874 to simply wash their hands between patients as they attended women in labor. He was driven mad when the medical establishment pilloried him for such radical advice. Pasteur formulated the germ theory of fermentation (1861), invented pasteurization (1864), a chicken cholera vaccine (1880), and a vaccine for the dreaded rabies (1885). After he died in 1895, the Pasteur Institute was established in Paris to perpetuate his work and memory.

One of the most significant public health measures of the century, however, was Englishman Thomas Crapper's invention of the flush toilet, which he demonstrated at the Health Exhibition in London in 1884. This device helped control water-borne diseases, no mean killer of people: cholera epidemics around the middle of the nineteenth century killed 30,000 people in London alone.[5]

Care for individual patients was still ineffectual, but some progress was being made. In 1816, Laënnec invented the stethoscope — important for diagnosing and treating the ancient (and now recrudescent) scourge of tuberculosis. The British medical journal, *The Lancet*, first appeared in 1823, fostering the communication of medical ideas. Morton gave the first ether anesthetic in 1846; the first appendectomy (now with anesthesia) followed in 1847.

In 1865, Lord Lister introduced the disinfectant carbolic acid and launched the concept of antiseptic surgery, tolling the end of the era of "laudable pus" in medicine. In 1871, Hansen discovered the leprosy bacillus.

Robert Koch identified the anthrax bacillus in 1876 and developed a method for staining and identifying bacteria in 1877. In 1882, he discovered the tubercle bacillus, developed an inoculation against anthrax (1883), and in 1887, formulated his seminal "Four Postulates" for proving the bacterial

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causation of a disease.[6] To round out his career, he traveled to India to discover the causative organism of cholera and while en route, identified the organisms that caused two varieties of Egyptian conjunctivitis (a severe eye inflammation). What a record!

Closing out the medical events of the 19th century: the malarial parasite was discovered in 1890, the plague bacillus in 1894, and the dysentery bacillus in 1898. Steam sterilization of surgical instruments started in 1886, rubber gloves were introduced in 1890, and Roentgen discovered X-rays in 1895. The translation of these advances into definitive, personal and life-saving systems of patient care was to come in the next century.

As a result of public health measures and better living conditions fostered by the industrial revolution, death rates decreased, especially among the young. Children who formerly would have died survived to reproduce themselves, and human numbers expanded. By 1850, population approached 1.2 billion — approximately eight times our starting population of 150 million in 1 A.D.

Further Transportation Advances

Industrialization and transportation also evolved rapidly in the 1800s. Fulton built a steam-powered paddle boat in 1803. Bell had a steamship running on the Clyde in Scotland by 1812. Fresnel invented his prisms in 1822, greatly improving the efficiency of lighthouses and safety on the high seas. The first steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1827, reducing travel times by days and eventually weeks. A steam-powered, screw propeller ship first appeared in 1829, and could do 6 knots! In 1872, Lord Kelvin invented a machine that allowed ships to take accurate depth soundings at sea — another major advance in safety.

On the rail front, George Stephenson built the first practical locomotive in 1814. Trains first carried passengers in Britain in 1825, and in the United States in 1828. The first Swiss railroad opened in 1847, and three years later Robert Stephenson (George's son) constructed the first cast iron bridge capable of carrying a train. Rail lines were pushed through the Brenner Pass by 1867 and construction of the trans-Siberian railroad was begun in 1891 (and completed in 1917).

Transportation by car was not far behind. Macadam developed a road building process that still bears his name. An internal combustion engine was developed in 1860. Benz built the first single-cylinder motor car engine in 1885, and followed up in 1893 with the first four-wheel car. Ford's first "flivver" appeared in 1894.

Advancing the concept of air travel, Count Zeppelin constructed his lighter-than-air ship in 1895.

We would be remiss if we failed to note the highly significant agricultural revolution that took place alongside the industrial one. New crops from the New World rounded out and enhanced the diet: potatoes in the north of Europe, tomatoes and maize (corn) in the south.[7] Cultivation of sugar beets started after the British blockaded ports and supplies of cane sugar during the Napoleonic wars.

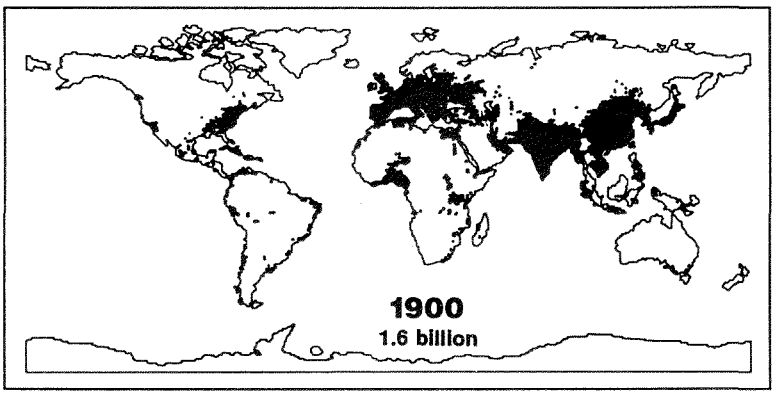

Figure 5

Patent and Copyright Laws

Let us pause here to note the creation of two key social conventions that bridged these three centuries and facilitated much of this scientific innovation: patent and copyright laws.

An early patent law, the statute on monopolies, was adopted in England in 1623. As one of its first acts, the United States Congress passed a comprehensive patent statute in 1790. So did France in 1791, as did numerous other countries in the 1800s. The International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property was signed in Paris in 1883, initially by 11 countries.

The first copyright act, the Statute of Anne,

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passed in England in 1710. Denmark followed suit in 1741, the United States in 1790, and France in 1793. The Bern Convention, an international copyright accord, took effect in 1886 with 14 signatories.

These social measures served the twin goals of financially protecting those who made scientific advances while assuring that the innovations were disclosed and eventually became public property. They were of more importance in the transportation and communications fields than in medicine, where a different ethic of freely sharing discoveries (at least among physicians) was and still remains in place.

The Situation at the Close of the 19th Century

Having reviewed the three main lines of discovery and invention both caused and enabled the mass migrations of the 1800s and 1900s, let us pause to sum up mankind's situation after three centuries of continuous scientific advancements. Figure 5 approximates the demographic situation in 1900, with a world population of about 1.6 billion, about ten times our starting point of 150 million.

The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus published *On the Principle of Population* in 1798. It was no accident that his seminal essay appeared then. By the end of the 1700s, Europe's population had grown to the point where, given the then-available technology, it pressed hard upon its resource base. The Europeans were worried about supporting their increasing numbers.

Thomas Robert Malthus
(1766-1834)

As a practical matter, the space and resources of the Americas were not yet available to the Old World. It took months to cross the ocean in tiny ships — with frequent dismastings, sea sickness, and shipwreck in the bargain. The oft-cited (but little read and less-understood) Malthus observed that while humans had great reproductive powers and often had many children, the human population increased much more slowly than high birth rates would seem to predict. In his view, numbers were held in check by "misery and vice," that is, the classic Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: war, civil strife, hunger, and death. Shortages of food, clothing and shelter, coupled with diseases, killed many people or kept them from marrying and reproducing. Malthus's chief concern was with food supplies, and the slow rate at which they could be increased.

Then the unexpected happened. Thanks to improvements in transportation, the New World became more accessible. Surplus people poured out of Europe (perhaps 50-60 million between 1840 and 1930). Resources were imported by the Old World to supply its industries, and overseas markets opened up for the resulting manufactured goods.

As railroads reached the American midwest, they were able to carry grain to Atlantic seaports where it could be shipped inexpensively to Europe. The flood of cheap imported food closed down farms all across England, Europe, and into Russia.[8]

Traveling east, ships were heavily laden with bulky raw materials; returning west, they were lightly loaded with more compact manufactured goods. Rather than carry ballast on the westward leg, the steamship companies decided instead to haul paying passengers. (The streets of Boston in the earlier years had been paved in part with stones from Europe — non-paying ballast stones!) To that end, agents were sent to the interior of Europe to promote emigration, at which they proved very effective. The displaced farmers and others embarked on boats returning to America, where they took up farming and perpetuated the cycle of dislocation. My maternal great-grandfather was typical. Migrating at age 27 after discharge in 1854 from one of the many German armies, he was eventually naturalized at Niagara Falls, New York in 1868. He became a farmer, as are many of his descendants to this day.

Europe's incessant wars, and such catastrophes as the potato blight of the 1840s and '50s (which also occurred on the Continent though with less

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severe consequences than in Ireland)[9] drove others to leave.

The net result of the opening up of the New World was that Malthus's cup of "misery and vice" was taken away for a while. Europeans pushed by straightened circumstances at home and pulled by the opportunities of the New World, proceeded to colonize the newly opened lands and utilize their resources. I specify Europeans because this migration was largely a Europe-to-New World phenomenon, and was based on the European scientific advances outlined in this paper.

By contrast, in Africa (except for the slave trade), on the Indian subcontinent, and in Asia, population growth remained largely *in situ*. (It was also much less, due to the absence of most of the factors we've cited that engendered European population growth and migration.) Only the Europeans were in a position to export their excess population, and use these expatriates to harvest and ship back home overseas resources. The colonists in turn provided a market for manufactured goods, further spurring the Industrial Revolution. Indeed, demographer Kingsley Davis calculates that had Europe not been able to export its surplus people, its population in 1970 would have been 50 percent larger than it was — 1.08 billion rather than 650 million.[10]

Davis also notes that until the great trans-Atlantic migration of 1840-1930, the historic direction of migration had generally been from sparsely settled territories to thickly settled ones, and from less-advanced to more-advanced areas, i.e., from the rural to the urban. Then the direction of the flow reversed, with people leaving thickly settled and developed Europe for the sparsely populated and rugged overseas frontiers. Today, he notes, the historic pattern has returned, with flows now running toward the developed countries, though in some cases the donor countries are more thickly settled than the recipient ones.[11]

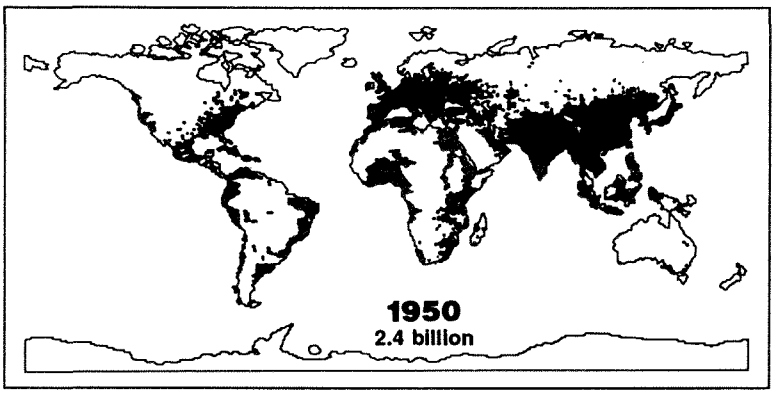

Figure 6

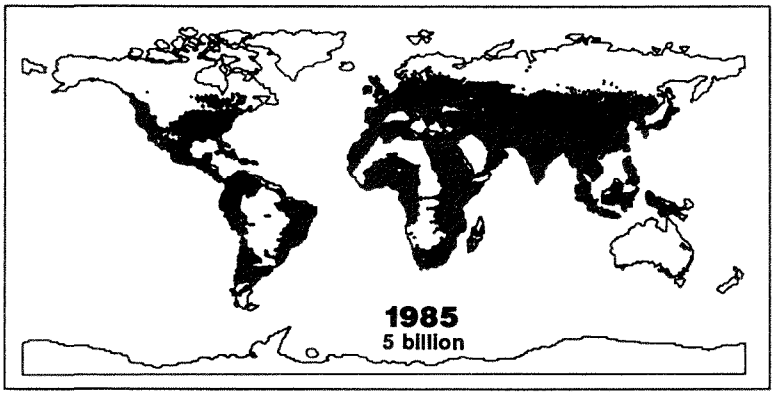

Figure 7

The 20th Century: Raising the Stakes

We now arrive at our own century, the population dynamics and scientific developments of which are well enough known that they need not be reported in detail. Suffice it to state that in the transportation and communication fields, innovation and advancement have gone apace, stimulating interest in and facilitating migration.

Medicine, however, has changed. While public health measures have continued to appear (vaccines for diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio), the age of potent, life-extending, *individualized* health care is upon us. This is now an increasingly important factor in the expansion of human numbers.

In addition, our scientists have given us pesticides to suppress plant and animal diseases, and fertilizers, herbicides, and the green revolution to produce more food. We Homo sapiens have responded by increasing our numbers to match and test

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these new limits. Here is a summary of our situation at century's end.

Population Push Pressures

World population by 1950 had reached about 2.4 billion, sixteen times our base-year number of 150 million. By 1985 — just 35 years later — it had doubled to approximately 5 billion. (Figures 6 and 7.) As of the 1990s, the percentage *rate* of population growth may be down somewhat, but it now applies to a progressively larger base, so that today the *net* increase (births minus deaths) is 10,000 per hour, 250,000 per day, 90-plus million per year — the fastest numeric increase in world history. When India lost 30,000 people in an earthquake in 1993, it replaced that number *by itself* in just two eight-hour shifts; its population currently grows by 50,000 per day.

Making matters worse, demographic momentum now at work (and beyond reversal in the short term) will greatly swell world population over the next few decades, inevitably increasing human misery and therefore migration push pressures. (Figure 8.)

In the U.S. by 1990, our population had grown to 250 million, nearly sixty-four times the 4 million counted in the first census in 1790. The Census Bureau now projects that by 2050, our population will reach 392 million — a further 60 percent increase — due chiefly to admission of large numbers of young and fertile immigrants.[12]

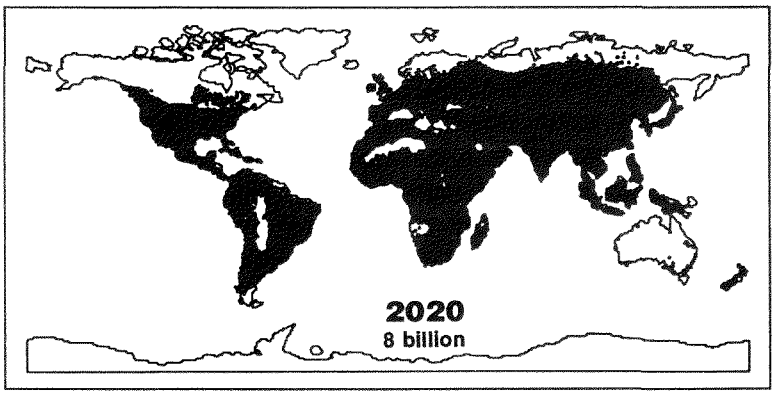

Figure 8

Beyond just human numbers, consider:

Employment Push Pressures

In March of 1994, the International Labor Organization reported that per capita income for the world's workers fell in 1993 for the fourth straight year. Thirty percent of the world's labor force — 820 million people — were unemployed or under-employed at the beginning of 1994.[13]

Basing our prediction on the number of people *already born* (this is not a "guesstimate"), we can see that between 1990 and 2010 the work force of the less-developed countries will expand another 800 million, far more than the *entire* current work force of the more-developed countries (less than 500 million). Where will these people find work?

Social and Political Push Pressures

Freedom House, which reports annually on the status of freedom around the globe, states that as of 1993, only 19 percent of the world's population lives under conditions it describes as "free." Those living under "partially free" conditions make up 40 percent; the "not-free" account for 41 percent. Adding these last two figures together, we find that over 80 percent of the world's 5.4 billion people — some 4 billion souls — live under conditions less than "free." Most of these people could improve their lot in several ways by moving to a developed country. This reservoir of human discontent grows by about 80 million per year, as 90 percent of the world's annual population growth of 90 million occurs in less-developed and less-free countries.

Environmental and Natural Disaster Push Pressures

A nearly endless list could be cited: deforestation-exacerbated floods in Bangladesh;[14] the collapse of fisheries in the Black and Azov Seas resulting from the accidental introduction of the West Atlantic comb jelly fish;[15] pollution in the former USSR;[16] the desertification of Africa's Sub-Sahara; and so on.

Natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods now find many more people "in harm's way." Many of the people displaced by such acts of God are candidates for moving to higher and firmer ground.

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But to Where Can Such Populations Move?

North America cannot accommodate huge additional numbers — it is now quite *fully occupied*, with scarcely any virgin land or untapped resources awaiting settlers. Easily accessible resources have been substantially harnessed and, in many cases, run down. South America still has sparsely populated areas, but is hardly in a position to resettle tens of millions of people with the attendant economic costs and social turmoil.

Europe is more densely populated than North America, and an even less likely candidate for resettling millions of migrants. For instance, reunited Germany has a surface area about equal to that of the combined states of Oregon and Washington; but it has a population one-third that of the *entire* United States. The Netherlands is twice as densely populated as Germany, with an average 1,300 people per square mile. How can either of these places receive millions of newcomers? The same is true of most of Europe and the habitable portions of Africa and Asia. The globe's hospitable lands are in the main already taken up.

Does outer space offer an answer? Regrettably not, at least in our time. We know of no other liveable planets. Even if we did, just to keep up with population growth, we would need to fire 10,000 people an hour into space — *never to return*. Anything less would be demographically ineffective. Any volunteers?

Legal Immigration to the Main Immigrant-Receiving Nations

Country and Year for which data is available	Number
Australia (1991-92)	107,400
Canada (1991)	230,781
Federal Rep. of Germany (1992)*	1,489,449
France (1990)	176,115
Israel (1992)	77,032
Italy (1992)**	11,350
Sweden (1989)	58,944
United Kingdom (1990)	51,960
United States (1990)***	1,536,483
TOTAL	**3,739,514**

*This includes 281,847 ethnic Germans from the former East Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia.

**Italy doesn't consider itself a country of immigration and so does not keep relevant data. The 11,350 are family reunification visas and asylees (2,650), but do not include tens of thousands of people of Italian descent returning from places such as Argentina.

***This includes 880,372 aliens granted permanent residence under the provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.

SOURCES: Center for Migration Studies (Washington, DC); European Forum for Migration Studies (Bamberg, Germany)

Table 1

In Addition:
Growing Resistance to Migrants

From the pool of 4 billion potential migrants, there are probably fewer than four million persons worldwide who are allowed to migrate *legally* each year — about one in 1,000, or 0.1 percent. (Table 1.) Of the 170-plus member countries of the United Nations, only a handful still *seek* immigrants. And in each of these countries, public opinion polls show strong opposition to both illegal and legal immigration. Serious reexamination of immigration policy is under way in all of these countries with sharp reductions as a possible outcome. The other U.N. members are in the market for newcomers only under the most stringent of conditions, and usually in very limited numbers.

In retrospect, it took only 200 years — from 1790 to 1990 — to skim the cream of the Americas' resources and return mankind to the conditions faced in Europe in 1798 when Malthus wrote his essay: millions of people in dire circumstances, with huge pools of under- or unemployed labor. But now the numbers are vastly larger, and no virgin continents await settlers.

End of the Migration Epoch?

It is hard to envision a win/win outcome to our migration dilemma. In sum, as the second millennium closes we find the "irresistible force" of growing migration pressure confronting the "immovable object" of escalating resistance to migration.

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How Will It All Turn Out?

If the developed countries cannot or will not control their borders, they will quickly be swamped in the remaining years of this century or the opening ones of the next. It seems unlikely that their welfare systems can provide benefits to any and all who can afford the price of a ticket, or that their social, political, and economic systems can cope with the resultant plethora of languages, religions, races, and ethnicities. Even if the developed countries take in tens of millions, it will have little effect on the growing numbers of people left behind. In this hapless scenario, migration would stop only when it is no longer worth moving — only when abject poverty prevails everywhere. I cannot believe the developed countries would allow this to happen.

If the developed countries do muster the will and the very considerable resources required to control their borders, we will be the subject of "Isle-of-Prosperity-in-a-Sea-of-Misery" TV shows — shows that vividly portray the chaos and anarchy that many envision for the Third World.[17] Given that many of the developed countries' resources come from the less-developed regions (the U.S. for instance, imports more than 50 percent of its oil) the developed world's future is far from assured in this scenario.

In contrast, let us assume some outpouring of compassion. Say 8 million legal migrants were accepted worldwide in one year, twice the present annual number. That would accommodate only one months' world population increase, and do nothing to decrease the ranks of the discontented. What happens the next year? Do we accept another 8 million, while falling further behind?

My estimate is that as these alternate futures become known, the forces working world-wide to secure borders and decrease immigration will prevail. By the turn of the century, both illegal and legal migration will be severely curtailed. Trans-border migration of impoverished tens of millions, as occurred between 1840-1930, is simply impossible to envision; this would be viewed everywhere as an invasion. It is now and would then be vigorously resisted by whatever means necessary.

Toward a New Paradigm

I have picked my words carefully. I write of the virtual end of migration of people who will be *welcome*, wherever in the world they may settle. Doubtless, some clandestine migration will continue, but most migrants will increasingly be resented by the majority of the populace in the target countries.

The world is not *full*, but is *fully occupied*, and by those who for reasons lamented by some and lauded by others, do not wish to divide their patrimony into smaller pieces by admitting more people. Unfortunately, we can offer no encore analogous to the occupation in the 1800s and 1900s of the Americas and Australia/New Zealand. There are no new continental land masses to be discovered, and few remaining unclaimed virgin resources. We have finally done it — we have spread completely across the *habitable* surfaces of the globe, and fulfilled at least one Biblical injunction — to be fruitful, multiply, and subdue the earth.

The three scientific revolutions that made migration a solution in the *fin de siècle* times of the 1890s have now made it a difficult problem in the *fin de millénaire* times of the 1990s. To review:

1. **Medical and public health science** are relentlessly saving lives and, by postponing death beyond the fertile years, pushing human populations to ever higher levels.
2. **Communication technology** is constantly evolving and ever cheaper, informing people of bad conditions at home and greener grass elsewhere.
3. **Transportation improvements** are making it ever more possible for huge numbers of people to move at relatively small expense anywhere on the globe in a matter of hours.

I predict that future historians, looking back on the end of the second millennium, will report that just as mankind went through Ages characterized as Stone, Bronze, and Iron, so it went through an Immigration Epoch that bridged all of those ages, and came to a close about the year 2000. Movement of people continued just as did use of stone, bronze, and iron, but the human race had to find ways other than migration to address its problems. There was no alternative.

An important chapter in human history had closed.

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Needed: A Paradigm Shift

The world has changed since our Republic was formed 200 years ago. Our mental image of it must change to keep pace. Thomas Kuhn calls such readjustments "paradigm shifts" and defined them in his 1962 book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, as "a set of assumptions about reality — an accepted model or pattern that explains the world better than any other set of assumptions."[18]

The next section lays out side-by-side some of the paradigm shifts needed to align our view of international migration with new realities.

A Proposed Shift in the Immigration Paradigm

The Old Dogma	The New Understanding
1. There is enough for all, regardless of numbers. Selfishness and greed are the problem. Just distribution is the solution.	1. Resources and livable conditions are scarce. Manna does not fall from heaven. Scarcity is the rule, and requires a degree of self interest.
2. The population problems and pressures can be solved by moving people to sparsely populated countries.	2. Population problems are beyond solution by migration. No habitable, unclaimed lands remain. Most people will never be able to leave the country of their birth.
3. Large scale migration can continue indefinitely.	3. The large scale migration of the last 200 years is an aberration enabled by conditions that cannot be replicated. In a limited world, it must necessarily come to an end.
4. National boundaries are arbitrary and illegitimate. We should transfer our allegiance upward to world government. Robert Frost was right: "Something there is that doesn't love a wall."	4. The nation-state is one of the essential levels of human government. Modern life is impossible without it; most people will transfer their loyalties down to the clan or tribe, not upward to world government. Robert Frost's neighbor had it right: "Good fences make good neighbors."
5. We are a nation of immigrants. The Statue of Liberty stands for open immigration.	5. All nations are nations of immigrants at some point in their history. The United States is not special in this regard. The Statue of Liberty stands not for immigration but for the rule of law and "Liberty Enlightening the World."
6. Immigration is primarily a civil liberties problem to be dealt with by specialists: lawyers, judiciary committees, courts.	6. Immigration is primarily a population and resource problem. Policy should be set by demographers, resource committees and biologists, in consultation with the citizenry.
7. The proper focus of our attention is on those who migrate — the less than 0.1 percent.	7. The proper focus is on the 99.9 percent of people who remain at home to contend with the conditions that migrants leave behind. They are the ones who most need and deserve our support.

(continued)

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8. Those who migrate are to be celebrated as heroes.	8. Those who stay and struggle to change things for the better — the Lech Walesas of the world — are the real heroes.
9. Limiting immigration is selfish or worse.	9. Limiting immigration and hence population growth is our duty if we are to pass our national estate on to our successors in livable condition. Migrants are usually selfish in their motivation.
10. Diversity is good and more diversity is better — without limit.	10. Commonality is also good and essential to workable social arrangements. Too much diversity leads to divisiveness and conflict.

But what about ethics and morals? What is the *right* thing to do?

Many great human questions are at bottom ethical and moral, rather than economic or political. Elimination of the age-old practice of slavery was not based on cost/benefit analysis. Philosophers and their governments have long sought to define the "just" war. Volunteer associations by the hundreds are actuated by high-minded concepts of right and wrong, even in this secular era.

Down through the years, many codes of conduct have appeared to guide mankind in wrestling with ethical or moral decisions. Without such common, agreed-to benchmarks, resolution of disputes and probably even civilized life would not be possible.

Control of migration is one of the great and age-old human questions. Based on the new paradigm presented above, we need to develop a new set of principles to guide the formulation of immigration policy. These are the ones that seem to be evolving:

A New Decalogue For An Increasingly Crowded World

Principle I: **World population growth** of 10,000 per hour, 250,000 per day, 90-plus million per year, dwarfs the absorptive capacity of the few countries still willing to receive legal (and certainly illegal) immigrants. The stresses caused by population growth cannot be solved by international migration. They must be confronted by and within each individual nation.

Principle II: The **nation-state**, remains an **essential** unit of human governance. Sovereignty is the guarantee of a nation's and its citizens' right to exist. Sovereignty includes the right to regulate entry into one's territory. The United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*[19] recognizes this by enumerating a right of emigration, but not of immigration. The alternative to delineating and controlling borders is anarchy.

Principle III: **Each nation** has a solemn **responsibility** to provide for the health, education, employment, and security of its own citizens. No nation can expect to solve deficiencies in these areas by exporting its surplus people. Fundamental to the concept of national rights and responsibilities is the duty of each nation to match its population with its political, social, and environmental resources, in both the short and the long term. No nation should exceed what the biologists call its "carrying capacity."

Principle IV: In setting its immigration policy, any nation must **first** look after the **interests of its own citizens**, including those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. The long term consequences of any actions, including the need to ensure social cohesion, and the long range management of social, political, and environmental resources must be considered. Passing these on in healthy condition to future generations must be a fundamental objective of public policy. This is not selfish; it is a requirement of social responsibility.

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Principle V: **Each nation** should **train** its own technical and professional personnel, matching supply to demand. The developed countries in particular should not continue to encourage a brain drain from the less-developed countries, luring their talented people, and thus benefitting from the scarce capital that went into their education. On their part, the less-developed countries should educate their citizens in fields appropriate to their own country's needs, and not for some personnel export market.

Principle VI: **Each nation** should arrange to **do its own drudgery work**, even if this means extra expense to improve the wages and conditions of service workers. Communities within the developed countries that have few or no immigrants have long demonstrated their ability to maintain themselves without outside help. In the long course of human history, there have always been those who wanted to harvest the product of another's labor. This was the underlying theme of slavery. It is time we closed this chapter of human history.

Principle VII: **Illegal immigration** is unacceptable, both for the individual migrant and for the recipient nation. Newcomers should arrive legally, indicating their respect for the laws and customs of their prospective new land. If workers have legal status, it will reduce the temptation of potential employers and others to exploit newcomers because of their illegal status. Illegal immigration should be held to the irreducible minimum.

Principle VIII: **Legal immigration** should come under the discipline of a "budget" concept, one that specifies an all-inclusive ceiling. If more in one category are to be admitted, balancing cuts must be made elsewhere.

The three fundamental questions that must be answered to set a policy on legal immigration are:

1. **How many** people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing among candidates?
3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

To be taken seriously, any proposed legal immigration policy must set out specific answers to this "How-Who-How" trilogy.

To underscore the value of citizenship, legal immigrants should enjoy a lesser "bundle of rights" than citizens during their trial period of legal resident alien status. When they become eligible for naturalization, they should either commit themselves fully to their new country by becoming citizens and receiving full rights and accepting full responsibilities — or, if they choose not to make this commitment, should return home, making room for someone else. Both dual citizenship and permanent, lifelong resident alien status are ethically unacceptable. People should commit themselves to one polity or another, and participate fully in efforts to improve its social, political and economic life.

Principle IX: Concerning **asylees** and **refugees**, the emphasis should be on *temporary* succor with eventual repatriation, rather than permanent settlement. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees states that repatriation must be the solution for most refugee problems, given the numbers involved.[20] The limited refugee funds available are better spent on the relatively inexpensive per capita maintenance of many refugees in their region of origin, rather than on expensive permanent resettlement of a few in the developed countries. Refugees should not be introduced to the developed countries if there is to be any hope of repatriation.

Principle X: The **Epoch of International Migration** as a solution to human problems **is over** for the overwhelming majority of mankind. Most people will never be able to move from their place of birth; there are simply too many people and too few places left to go. Instead, individuals will have to work to change conditions they find unacceptable.

Acknowledgement of the realities underlying these principles could usher in a whole new epoch in human history, one in which support will flow toward individuals attempting to deal with their problems, rather than to those who simply take flight from them.

The astute reader will note that we have not placed heavy emphasis on a plethora of "immigrants' rights." Rather, we emphasize the rights (and responsibilities) of the citizens in both the receiving and sending countries.

Many axioms and corollaries to this basic set of ten principles could and need to be enunciated. However, these broad guidelines can provide an

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overall framework for policy making.

In Summary: End of the Migration Epoch!

It is now time to remove the question mark from the title of this essay and replace it with an exclamation point to assert that the convergence of events and data show that we are fast approaching the end of the Migration Epoch. Welcome international migration — legal, and especially illegal — is no longer a practical option for almost all of the world's people. Rather, they will have to bloom where they are planted if they are to bloom at all. They will have to work to change conditions they don't like rather than just move away from them. Helping make it possible for them to stay rather than leave is the proper focus for our efforts.

Rampant 20th century population growth has brought sobering new realities. We must adjust our immigration paradigm and its derivative ethical system accordingly. ■

NOTES

[1] In pursuit of his demographic and immigration policy interests, Tanton has served as organizer and president of Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood (1965-71); as chair of the national Sierra Club Population Committee (1971-74); as a member of the national Zero Population Growth board (1973-78); as chair of its Immigration Study Committee (1973-75); as its national president (1975-77); as organizer (1979) of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and its chair (1979-87); and as a board member of Population/Environment Balance (1980-90).

[2] For an excellent overview of these early human movements, see Kingsley Davis, "The Migration of Human Populations," *Scientific American*, Vol. 231, No. 3, September 1974, pp. 93-105. In my view, this article is one of the classics in immigration literature.

[3] The main resource used to construct these population growth maps was *The Atlas of World Population History* by C. McEvedy and R. Jones (New York: Penguin Books, 1978) plus data published by the Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1875 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., #520, Washington, D.C. 20009, 202-483-1100.

[4] The dates for the historical events mentioned throughout this paper are taken from *The Timetables of History* by Bernard Grun (New York: Touchstone Books/Simon & Schuster, 1982). This book was originally published in German as Werner Stein's *Kulturfahrplan* — an excellent addition to the library of anyone with an interest in history.

[5] William Ecenbarger, "Flushed with success," *Chicago Tribune Magazine* (April 4, 1993), pp. 23 ff.

[6] Koch's Postulates:

1. Obtain an organism from a diseased individual.
2. Grow it in pure culture.
3. Inoculate a healthy individual with the organism and precipitate the original disease.
4. Successfully reculture the same organism from this newly infected individual.

Koch held that this sequence proved that the organism was the cause of the disease.

[7] William McNeill in *Seeds of Change: A Quincentennial*, Herman Viola and Carolyn Margolis (eds.) (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991).

[8] Daniel P. Moynihan, *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University, 1993), pp. 137-138.

[9] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); McNeill, op. cit.

[10] Davis, op. cit, p. 99.

[11] Davis, op. cit., p. 95, 100, 102.

[12] Gary Blonston, "Census Forecast for 2050 Gives Minorities Big Gains," *Detroit Free Press*, December 4, 1992, p. 3A.

[13] David R. Sands, "1 in 3 Worldwide Can't Find a Job or Living Wage," *The Washington Times*, March 7, 1994.

[14] Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, Jeffrey H. Boutwell and George W. Rathjens, "Environmental Change and Violent Conflict," *Scientific American* (February 1993), pp. 38-45.

[15] John Travis, "Invader Threatens Black, Azov Seas," *Science*, Vol. 262, November 26, 1993, pp. 1366-1367.

[16] Jon Thompson, "East Europe's Dark Dawn; The Iron Curtain Rises to Reveal a Land Tarnished by Pollution," *National Geographic*, June 1991, pp. 36-69.

[17] Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994), pp. 44-76; Jean Raspail, *The Camp of the Saints* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975); Homer-Dixon, op. cit.

[18] David Osborne, "The Power of Outdated Ideas," *Chicago Tribune*, January 12, 1992, p. 13.

[19] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, December 10, 1948, Article 13, No. (2).

[20] See in general "The State of World Population 1993," United Nations Fund for Family Planning.

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Religious workers are increasingly finding moral meaning — and more mundanely, jobs — working with and for refugees. Here is a "small picture / short run" paradigm antithetical to the one described in the Prologue to the preceding article.

Sponsorship Changes Lives! (Mine)

By Joseph S. Roberson, Associate Director
Virginia ERRSS (Ecumenical Refugee Resettlement and Sponsorship Services)

In December 1987, the Christian Church Disciples of Christ congregations in the Lynchburg, Virginia area made a commitment to sponsor three young men from Poland. As the Associate Minister of the Fairview Christian Church, I attended the sponsor orientation meeting with the intent of *only* being an observer and bringing back the information to our congregation. But a funny thing happened at the orientation meeting. Reverend Dorothy France, then the Virginia ERRSS (local Church World Service affiliate) Director, spoke with such enthusiasm, excitement and commitment about the ministry we were beginning that I could not help but make a commitment to become involved in the effort. And I was challenged and fascinated with the idea that this was a ministry which would really change people's lives.

Our case arrived six months later and Jan, Mark and Konrad lived across the street from my home. Our Resettlement Committee spent many hours with the tasks of securing jobs, assisting with English language training, buying cars and dealing with the adjustment problems which are a part of starting over in a new culture. Life was not only a new adventure for the refugees, but also for each person on the committee — for now, we were seeing life in America through very different eyes.

By December 1989, our District resettled two more families, and I was hooked on refugee resettlement. God was calling me to a new area of ministry, and I began to look for opportunities to fulfill that call. This opportunity came along quickly, and in June 1990, I relocated to Harrisonburg, Virginia and was working for the Virginia ERRSS.

Life in Harrisonburg began in an extremely small office where I assisted approximately 40 newly arrived refugees in securing employment, English training and providing interpreters. Some work was also done in the area of sponsorship development. Reverend France told me this was somewhat of a lonely job because I would be basically working by myself. That first year was a lonely one.

Things change and life takes different turns. Refugee ministry in the Harrisonburg area has grown tremendously. Our office now serves approximately 300 adults at any one time; places 100-200 people a year in jobs; provides one of the few opportunities for English as a Second Language training on computers in the state of Virginia; works with churches, community groups, schools, physicians; and has even set up its own refugee business enterprise. Life is no longer lonely as our staff of five goes about this special ministry. And it has been a joy to include two former refugees on our team who were resettled through Church World Service and its partner denominations because lives are changed through this ministry, people are given new opportunities and individuals, families and churches receive so many blessings. Myself included. Sponsorship changes lives — I definitely testify to that. ■

[*Editor's note: You may now wish to read the review on page 231 of Roy Beck's essay in the April 1994 issue of* The Atlantic Monthly *for an account of refugee resettlement by church groups in Wausau, Wisconsin.*]

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Philip L. Martin is professor of agricultural economics at the University of California-Davis.
This speech was delivered in Los Angeles before a security-oriented conference of German and American politicians and opinion leaders on December 4, 1993.

Immigration and Integration: Challenges for the 1990s

By Philip L. Martin

Immigration and integration are two of the major issues that will confront the industrial democracies of Western Europe, North America, and Asia during the 1990s. The immigration challenge is how to deal with the millions of people who would like to "go north" and take advantage of the opportunities offered for economic advancement and political freedom in France and Germany, the United States, and Japan. The integration challenge is: whether and how to help the 40 million immigrants and their children who have arrived in the industrial democracies over the past 30 years to be accepted as fellow citizens and future leaders.

Immigration and integration have risen toward the top of the international agenda because large and unpredictable waves of newcomers are arriving at a time of economic insecurity and political uncertainty. The numbers are large, there is no natural end to the current wave of immigration in sight, and there is a troubling sense that, by the time we really know whether today's newcomers will be a benefit or burden, it will be too late to act. This uneasiness arises from the fact that demography is ultimately a society's destiny, a point that is well-illustrated by the probably apocryphal story of the dying American Indian chief who, in the 1880s, was asked by his young braves to name the major mistake of his generation? His reply was simple: we failed to stop the illegal immigration of the white man.

There are three dimensions of the migration challenge today that merit careful attention. First, immigration into the industrial countries is at its highest levels ever, and is likely to rise further in the 1990s. Second, the industrial countries are reacting in very different and in generally uncoordinated ways to rising immigration pressures. Third, industrial country responses to unwanted immigration usually involve a trade-off between restrictions and generosity — what some call a Grand Bargain — in which efforts to reduce immigration are coupled with programs to accelerate the integration of newcomers. The best Grand Bargain for the 1990s would be a redoubling of immigration control efforts coupled with a commitment to truly integrate the newcomers and their children in our midst.

A World on the Move

The world's population is 5.5 billion, the world's work force is 2.5 billion, and both numbers are increasing by almost 100 million annually.

Neither people nor income are distributed equally around the globe. The World Bank divides the countries on which it collects data into 20 "high-income" and 110 middle and low income countries. High-income countries — the United States and Canada, Western European nations from Sweden to Spain, and Asian countries such as Japan, Singapore, and Australia — include only 15 percent of the world's population, but they account for over three-fourths of the world's $22 trillion GDP in 1991. The average income in these rich countries was over $21,000 annually, versus a worldwide average $4000.

An average person from one of the poorer 110 countries could increase his or her income 7 times by moving into one of the 20 richest countries. And young people are responding to the opportunity to "go north" because the three major factors that regulate international migration are evolving in ways that promise more rather than less movement.

International migration occurs because of demand-pull factors that draw migrants into industrial countries, supply-push factors that push them out of their own countries, and networks of friends and relatives already in industrial societies who serve as anchor communities for newcomers. Once begun for economic or humanitarian reasons,

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migration often takes on a life of its own, as guestworker and refugee families unify in industrial countries. If economic gaps or persecution persist, friends and relatives of settled immigrants often seek to join them in industrial countries, so that one migrant can, in snowball fashion, lead to 5 to 10 more.

The demand-pull factors that encourage immigration are strengthening. All of the major industrial democracies include 5 to 10 percent immigrants in their workforces. The surprise is that these immigrant workers tend to be found in the same industries from Bavaria to California to Osaka: construction, agriculture, and service jobs that offer low wages, such as restaurants and hotels, or night and weekend work, such as nursing. Immigrant workers are also found in labor-intensive manufacturing. It is ironic that garments, products of one of the industries most protected from developing nation imports, are often made in the industrial democracies by immigrant workers, a clear case in which a protectionist trade policy frustrates policies that try to control immigration.

The demand-pull of jobs in industrial democracies is matched neatly by the supply-push of low wages and joblessness in the developing countries from which most migrant workers come. About 5 in 6 of the world's workers are in the world's poorer 110 nations, and every year another 100 million workers join the 2 billion-strong workforce there. This leads to an enormous job creation challenge. Developing nations from Mexico to Turkey must create 100 million new jobs annually for the youth who every year enter the workforce, plus find jobs for the 20 to 40 percent of the workforce that is currently unemployed or underemployed. On top of these job creation challenges, developing nations must find jobs for ex-farmers and workers who are not seeking work because there aren't enough jobs.

Two examples illustrate the dimensions of the job creation challenge. Almost half of the workforce in developing nations are farmers. We do not need 1 billion farmers to produce the world's food and fiber — in the industrial democracies, less than 5 percent of the workforce produces such an abundance that rich countries feel compelled to subsidize their farmers. Developing countries, on the other hand, often tax their farmers by requiring them to sell their cotton or coffee at below world prices to a government agency, which in turn exports the commodity at the world price and pockets the difference. Farming thus generates only one-fourth to one-third of the average income in countries such as Mexico and Turkey, and ex-farmers crowd booming cities from Mexico City to Manila. Once in these capital cities, it is much easier for them to board an airplane and, a day or two later, arrive in Frankfort or Los Angeles.

"About 5 in 6 of the world's workers are in the world's poorer 110 nations, and every year another 100 million workers join the 2 billion-strong workforce there."

A second example of the job creation challenge facing the world is the fact that many workers in developing nations do not seek work because they know jobs are scarce. In the industrial democracies, half of the population is typically in the workforce, so that the United States, with a population of 260 million, has a workforce of about 130 million. In developing nations, one-third of the population is typically in the workforce, so that Mexico, with 90 million people, has a workforce of about 30 million. Many of the Mexicans who are not in the workforce would like to work; if there were jobs, many of the housewives in the cities would seek them.

The demand-pull of jobs in the industrial democracies is linked to the supply-push of low wages and joblessness by migration networks. Migration networks encompass everything that enables people in developing nations to learn about opportunities in the industrial democracies and take advantage of them. These networks or linkages have been shaped by three of the major revolutions of the past generation: the communications revolution, the transportation revolution, and the rights revolution.

The communications revolution refers to the fact that potential migrants know far more about opportunities in the industrial democracies than did turn of the century migrants from southern and eastern Europe who set out for the United States. Their major source of information is their countrymen already settled abroad — they can tell the migrants about opportunities in Paris or Los

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Angeles, and in many cases provide advice and funds to migrate, legally or illegally. The industrial democracies perhaps unwittingly add to their allure by portraying, in TV shows such as Dallas and Dynasty that are exported even to the remote corners of the globe, a life of opulence. Migrants have their expectations raised by these portrayals of life in the industrial democracies, and many hope to achieve a better life for themselves by migrating to the wealth.

The transportation revolution lies in the fact that the cost of traveling has dropped enormously, while convenience has increased geometrically. Even the most remote peasant is less than one week away from the bright lights of New York — once he gets to his capital city, the international network of flights can take him anywhere within a day or two.

"...immigration is probably the major issue facing the industrialized democracies that is not being coordinated in an international organization."

The third revolution that encourages migration is the rights revolution, or the spread of individual rights and entitlements. All of the industrial democracies have strengthened personal rights vis-a-vis government agencies, and most have signed international treaties that, for example, commit them to provide refuge to those fleeing persecution. One effect of this rights revolution is that, once a migrant arrives in an industrial country, he or she can avoid deportation for 2, 3, or even 4 years.

While a migrant's case winds its way through the legal system, industrial countries face a Hobson's choice. If they prohibit the migrant from working because his legal right to do so is in doubt, then the government must support the migrant. If the migrant is permitted to work, then the humanitarian right not to be returned to persecution becomes a backdoor guestworker program.

Demand-pull, supply-push, and network factors are evolving in ways that encourage more migration. In light of these easily understandable forces, the world should be on the move. There are about 100 million legal immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, temporary workers, and unauthorized workers living outside their country of citizenship, and their number has been increasing by 2 million annually. If combined into a single country, this "nation of migrants" would be the world's tenth largest nation.

But the surprise to many observers is how few, not how many, migrants move into the industrial democracies. Most people do not move: most people will live and die within a few miles of their birthplace. International migration remains an extraordinary event despite the evolution of demand, supply, and network factors that encourage migration. Furthermore, most of those who migrate internationally move only a short distance, so that 60 percent of the world's migrants move from one developing nation to another. One unlikely country, Iran, includes almost one-fourth of the world's 19 million refugees.

The 40 million migrants in the industrial democracies *are* significant. But it should be emphasized that most people do not migrate despite ever more incentives to do so. The industrial democracies are not being overrun by a tidal wave of immigrants, but if they do not act now, they may someday face doomsday scenarios such as those portrayed in the film *March From Africa*, in which desperate Africans supposedly set out for Europe and political leaders there put troops on the border to stop them.

Toward International Cooperation?

Controlling who crosses a nation's borders is considered one of the most basic aspects of sovereignty. However, unlike defense or economic policies, which are coordinated in international organizations from NATO to GATT, immigration policy has remained country-specific. Indeed, immigration is probably the major issue facing the industrial democracies that is not being coordinated in an international organization.

This lack of international coordination is evident in the responses of the world's three major industrial areas to today's immigration pressures. In Western Europe, controlling unwanted immigration is a top domestic priority. In Germany, there were more than 10 attacks on foreigners every day in 1992 and 1993, including several arson fires that resulted in the deaths of Turkish children born in Germany. France, Europe's traditional immigration country, has

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announced that its goal is to have no immigration. The European response has been to embark on what has proven to be a contentious process to construct an ever higher external wall around fortress Europe so that there can be freedom of movement within Europe.

The United States and Canada are the world's two major traditional immigration countries: they plan for the acceptance of about 1 million immigrants annually, or 90 percent of all the immigrants that the industrial democracies plan to accept. Even though they are nations of immigrants, most Americans and Canadians want legal immigration reduced and new efforts launched to curb illegal immigration. This is not a new phenomenon: only once during the past half century, in 1953, did more than 10 percent of Americans favor increasing legal immigration.

The American and Canadian governments have responded to anti-immigrants sentiments by taking what have proven to be largely symbolic efforts to reduce illegal immigration. The United States in 1986 adopted sanctions or fines on employers who knowingly hired illegal immigrants, but this restrictionist symbol spawned a counterfeit document industry that paradoxically made it easier rather than harder for such "falsely documented workers." In 1990, the United States approved a cap on legal immigration, but it included so many exceptions that legal immigration is expected to remain at least 30 percent higher than "planned." Controlling immigration may be important in North America, but it ranks below creating jobs and controlling health care costs, crime, and welfare costs on the national agenda.

Asian industrial democracies such as Japan and South Korea are becoming, for the first time, destinations for immigrants. Unlike Europe, where emigration played a large role in nation-building, or the United States, where immigration helped to shape the nation's identity, neither emigration nor immigration has played significant roles in these nations. But both countries are opening side doors for guestworkers to enter, and they have announced their intention to avoid the European mistake of permitting these guestworkers to become immigrants.

The migrants living in the industrial countries send remittances to their countries of origin. Worldwide, remittances are at least $75 billion annually, or one and one-half times the level of Official Development Assistance provided to developing nations. From Algeria to Yugoslavia, labor is the most important export of many nations, and remittances are the most important source of foreign exchange.

As pressures to enter industrial democracies rise during the 1990s, should the industrial democracies coordinate their migration polices? Logic suggests that they should. If Germany restricts the immigration of persons seeking asylum, some may seek asylum in France, the United States, or Canada. Similarly, as world trade in services grows, migration issues inevitably arise, since many services are delivered in person.

"[Japan and South Korea] are opening side doors for guest workers to enter, and they have announced their intention to avoid the European mistake of permitting these guestworkers to become immigrants."

The industrial world is at the beginning of a new era of migration. Instead of people moving from Europe to America, the major flow of people will be from south to north. There is as yet little effective coordination or consultation on immigration matters. Perhaps migration issues today are akin to energy concerns in the 1960s. When oil was plentiful and cheap, there seemed to be no need for international coordination. When that fact changed, international organizations were quickly formed, and the industrial nations proved willing to coordinate their efforts — even to the Gulf War of 1991.

Two Grand Bargains

Migration is likely to increase rather than to decrease in the 1990s, and there is today only a limited basis for international cooperation to deal with international migration. What should the industrial democracies do about rising immigration pressures?

No one knows whether the immigrants arriving in industrial democracies today will be well-integrated fellow citizens or an unassimilable underclass

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tomorrow. Indeed, it is often difficult to engage in a rational discussion about immigration, especially in an immigrant country such as the United States. Past fears that Germans, Italians, or Jews could not assimilate proved to be groundless. Historians and social scientists cannot agree on why the United States was able to achieve *e pluribus unum* — from many, one — and thus they cannot reassure a public that today fears that newcomers will be difficult to integrate are groundless, but the fact that past fears of unassimiable newcomers were not borne out places a high hurdle in front of today's proponents of less immigration.

"How can the industrial democracies devote more resources to immigrants and their children when 70 to 80 percent of their people think that immigration should be reduced?"

Rather than trying to project the future success of any particular nationality or ethnic group, it is more useful to examine the effects of immigration on the industrial democracies. Throughout human history, most societies have had pyramid shapes: a king on top, and the poor masses at the bottom. The great achievement of the industrial democracies has been the development of diamond-shaped societies: the number of rich people was limited by taxes, the number of poor people with a social safety net, and the people in the middle class represented the widest portion of the diamond.

The diagram of immigrants now arriving in the industrial democracies would have an hourglass shape. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's analysis of census data, 24 percent of all immigrants 25 and older had 4 or more years of college in 1980, versus 16 percent of the native-born population. Immigrants are also much more likely than natives to have less than a high school education — 41 percent of adult immigrants had less than a high school education in 1980, versus 32 percent of the native born. The hourglass or barbell shape of immigration was accentuated in the 1980s, making immigration another factor — probably secondary compared to deregulation, trade patterns, and other economic shifts — that is increasing inequality in the industrial democracies, a major socio-economic issue of the 1990s.

First generation immigrants may not mind being at the bottom of the economic ladder, but their second and third generation children are likely to have the same aspirations as native children. The challenge for the industrial democracies is to ensure that these children of immigrants have the skills to match their expectations.

The studies and speculations about the prospects for the children of immigrants range from very optimistic to very pessimistic. But regardless of expectations, there is almost universal agreement that, to tip the scales more toward success, more should be done to help integrate immigrants and their children. This raises a dilemma. How can the industrial democracies devote more resources to immigrants and their children when 70 to 80 percent of their people think that immigration should be reduced?

The answer is the first so-called Grand Bargain. Industrial democracies could couple renewed efforts to control immigration with expanded efforts to promote integration. The industrial democracies have often used Grand Bargains to deal with immigration dilemmas. The United States in 1986 coupled sanctions on employers (meant to stop illegal immigration) with the world's largest amnesty program. Western Europe in 1974 stopped the recruitment of guestworkers, but permitted families to be unified in France and Germany.

There is also a second dimension to this Grand Bargain. The remittances sent home by migrants now exceed $75 billion annually, or 1.5 times ODA. If the industrial democracies are able to reduce immigration, they may also reduce the remittances that are the lifeblood of many families, communities, and economies. The industrial democracies are going to have to be prepared to couple trade concessions and aid with new get tough immigration policies in order to avoid hurting developing nations that depend on international migration.

Using trade to accelerate development produces one of the many paradoxes that bedevil rational discussion of the migration challenge facing the industrial democracies. As industrial countries free up trade with the countries from which migrants

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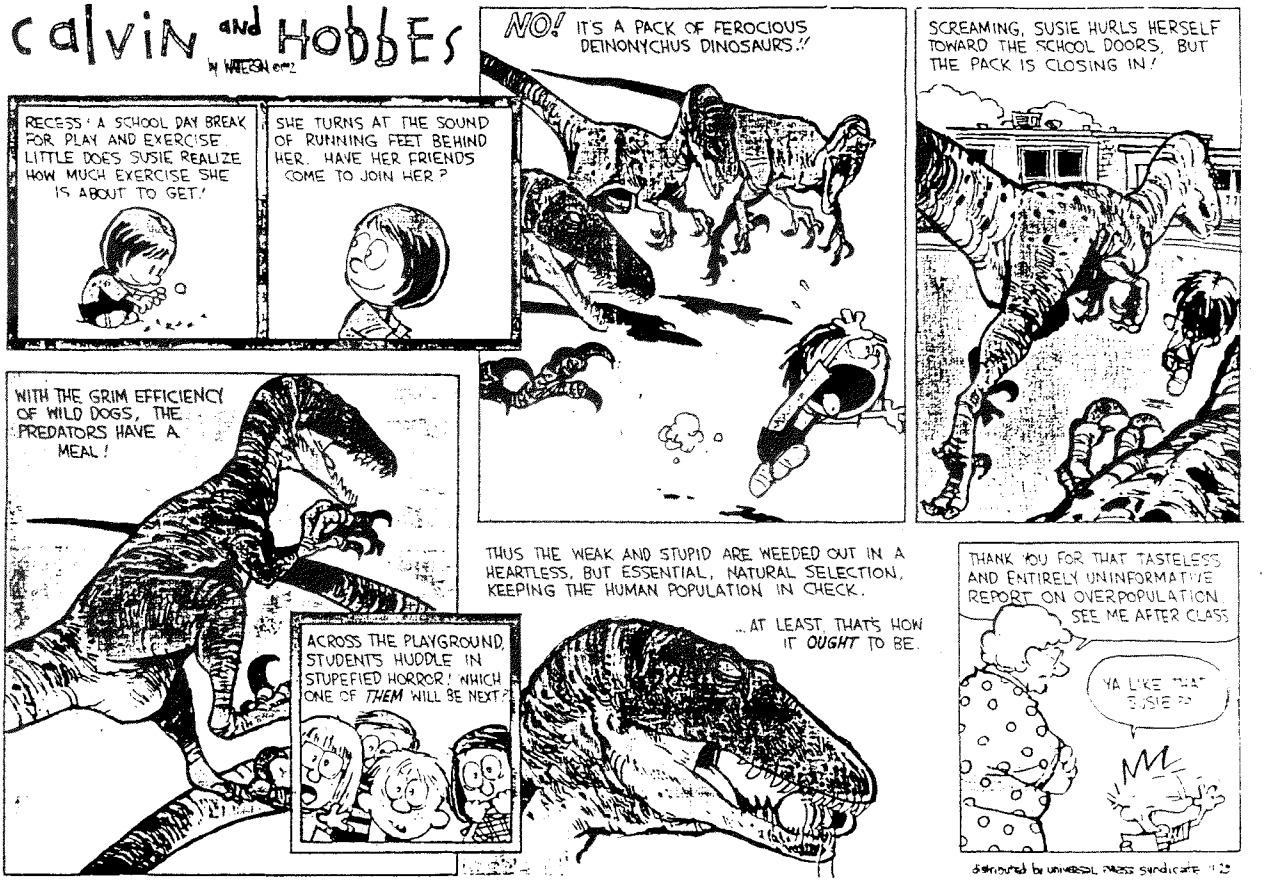
come, the trade and investment, which in the long run produce jobs and economic growth, in the short run often lead to an economic restructuring that increases migration pressures. The result is the so-called "migration hump" — migration pressures first rise, and then fall. In the case of NAFTA, freeing up trade and investment is expected to increase migration for a decade or more, producing the paradox that the policies which make immigration control less necessary in the long-run make it more necessary in the short run.

A Grand Bargain that coupled new immigration controls with a redoubling of efforts to integrate the newcomers in the industrial democracies, and a renewed effort to use trade and aid to accelerate development in emigration areas, has intuitive appeal, but it is difficult for any one country to accomplish. Governments are sensitive to employers who want immigrant workers, and neither foreign aid nor rolling back individual rights are politically popular. It is for this reason that the difficult choices that must be made in immigration matters may gravitate toward an international organization would help individual countries to adopt effective immigration controls.

It is true that difficult problems often lead to bad policies. But doing nothing about rising immigration is likely to produce the worst of all worlds. If the status quo continues, large numbers of unskilled immigrants will arrive in industrial countries, and right-wing political parties in Europe and compassion-fatigued publics in the United States will support politicians and parties that are not likely to make integrating newcomer immigrants a top priority. Such a political gridlock would produce yet another deficit for later generations to grapple with: the deficit of uplifting those left behind. ■


Calvin and Hobbes
by Watterson
RECESS! A SCHOOL DAY BREAK FOR PLAY AND EXERCISE! LITTLE DOES SUSIE REALIZE HOW MUCH EXERCISE SHE IS ABOUT TO GET!
SHE TURNS AT THE SOUND OF RUNNING FEET BEHIND HER. HAVE HER FRIENDS COME TO JOIN HER?
NO! IT'S A PACK OF FEROCIOUS DEINONYCHUS DINOSAURS!!
SCREAMING, SUSIE HURLS HERSELF TOWARD THE SCHOOL DOORS, BUT THE PACK IS CLOSING IN!
WITH THE GRIM EFFICIENCY OF WILD DOGS, THE PREDATORS HAVE A MEAL!
ACROSS THE PLAYGROUND, STUDENTS HUDDLE IN STUPEFIED HORROR! WHICH ONE OF THEM WILL BE NEXT?
THUS THE WEAK AND STUPID ARE WEEDED OUT IN A HEARTLESS, BUT ESSENTIAL, NATURAL SELECTION, KEEPING THE HUMAN POPULATION IN CHECK.
...AT LEAST, THAT'S HOW IT OUGHT TO BE.
THANK YOU FOR THAT TASTELESS AND ENTIRELY UNINFORMATIVE REPORT ON OVERPOPULATION. SEE ME AFTER CLASS.
YA LIKE THAT, SUSIE??
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The Social and Economic Origins of Immigration

By Douglas S. Massey

In the years since the end of World War II, international migration has emerged as a major demographic force throughout the world. The contemporary period of international migration begins about 1950 and represents a sharp break with the past. Rather than being dominated by flows between Europe and a handful of former colonies, immigration became a truly global phenomenon, as the number and variety of both sending and receiving nations increased. Whereas 85 percent of international migrants before 1925 originated in Europe, since 1950 Europeans have become an increasingly minor part of the flow. Meanwhile, the number of immigrants from Latin America, Africa and Asia has steadily grown.

The variety of destination countries has also increased. In addition to such traditional immigrant nations as Canada, the United States, Argentina and New Zealand, other Western Europe countries began to attract migrants, as did several less-developed but capital-rich nations, such as Venezuela, Nigeria and Saudi Arabia. In general countries are likely to receive immigrants from nations that are geographically close, important trading partners, political allies or former colonies. The vast majority of immigrants to the United States, for example, come from Latin America, the Caribbean or Asia.

The Economic Foundations of Immigration

Although international migration is widely recognized as an economic process, the economic foundations of immigration are frequently misunderstood and rest on two common misconceptions. The first is that immigration is caused by wage differentials between sending and receiving countries, and the second is that pressures for emigration stem from a lack of economic development in sending regions. Both views are well-entrenched in the thinking of social scientists and policy makers alike.

Macroeconomic theory holds that wages are determined by the balance of labor supply and demand within regional markets. If there is relative scarcity of workers in one market and a relative abundance in another, wages will be high in the former and low in the latter. Migration represents an equilibrating mechanism between the two regions, as workers move from the low wage area into the high wage area until the wage differential between the two areas equals the costs of interregional movement and adjustment.

Although a large wage differential is clearly an incentive to movement, it is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition. Migration decisions in developing countries are typically made by families, not individuals, and families migrate not only to maximize earnings but also to minimize risks. Economic conditions in developing countries are volatile, and families face serious risks to their well-being from many sources — natural disasters, political upheavals, economic recessions. Sending different family members to geographically distinct labor markets represents a strategy to diversify and reduce risks to household income.

Related to this overemphasis on wage differentials is a second misconception, that international migration is caused by a lack of development and that, by promoting economic development in poor nations, the pressure for international movement can be reduced. This view misinterprets the nature of the development process, which is inherently destructive and destabilizing and, in the short run, enhances the pressures for emigration rather than reduces them. Economic development destroys a previously stable economic and social system, peasant agriculture, by substituting capital for labor, privatizing landholding and creating

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markets. The destruction of the peasant economic system creates a pool of socially and economically displaced people, who provide the source for both internal and international migration.

Among European countries, there was close historical correlation between the onset of industrial development and the beginning of mass emigration. However, the experience of Europe is not generalizable to contemporary developing countries. Significant differences in demographic and technological conditions make the pressures for emigration from developing countries today much greater than they were for European countries in the past.

"...high population growth rates have exacerbated the pressures for emigration in ... developing countries by increasing the ratio of population to land and driving down agrarian wages."

In Europe, the transition from high to low mortality rates occurred slowly and fertility levels were modest. In the developing world, the decline in mortality occurred rapidly in a few years after 1945, but fertility remained high because of early marriage and lack of desire for family limitation. The resulting large gap between birth and death rates persisted for decades because the declines in mortality stemmed from imported technologies and public-health measures rather than from social and economic developments that simultaneously reduced birth rates. As a consequence, during its period of dynamic population growth, the Third World displayed very high rates of natural increase that were far in excess of those experienced by European countries during the nineteenth century. These high population growth rates have exacerbated the pressures for emigration in contemporary developing countries by increasing the ratio of population to land and driving down agrarian wages.

At the same time, the technology of production has become increasingly capital intensive. Agricultural modernization now has the potential to displace far more people from rural employment, while factories need fewer workers to produce the same output. Technological improvements have also reduced substantially the time and money required to travel internationally, and modern mass communications have made inhabitants of the Third World more aware of opportunities and conditions abroad than were European peasants of the past.

Thus the economic foundations for modern international migration lie not simply in low wages or lack of economic development in poor countries, but in the spread of increasingly capital-intensive economic development to rapidly growing Third World populations that are linked to the developed world by modern systems of transportation and communication. Although the high wages in developing countries provide an incentive to migrate, the uncertainty created by economic development also makes emigration an attractive strategy for risk diversification.

The Social Foundations of Immigration

International migration also has important social foundations that must be taken into account to achieve a complete understanding of contemporary immigration patterns. Immigration is far more dynamic than standard economic analyses suggest because it tends to feed back on itself through social channels. As a result, immigration has become progressively independent of the economic conditions that originally caused it and alters social structures in ways that increase the likelihood of subsequent migration.

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that link together migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of migration because they lower the costs of migration, which include the direct monetary costs of making a trip, the information and search costs paid to obtain a new job, the opportunity costs of foraging income while searching for work, and the psychic costs of leaving a familiar environment and moving to a strange setting. All of these costs are reduced when a prospective migrant has a personal tie to someone with prior experience in a particular destination area.

The first migrants who leave for a new destination have no social ties to draw upon, and for them migration is costly, particularly if it involves

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entering another country without documents. After the first migrants have left, however, the costs of migration are substantially lower for their friends and relatives living in the community of origin. Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each new migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination area. Migrants are inevitably linked to nonmigrants through bonds of kinship and friendship, and the latter draw upon obligations implicit in these relationships to gain access to employment and assistance at the point of destination, substantially reducing their migrant costs.

Once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a certain threshold, migration become self-perpetuating because migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it. Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad and, in turn, reduces costs for a new set of people, causing some of them to migrate, and so on.

The Foundations of Immigration Policy

The overemphasis on wages as determinants of immigration and the failure to appreciate the social dimensions of the migration process have led to immigration policies that often yield outcomes the opposite of those desired. Thus the recruitment of temporary foreign workers usually ends up generating a large, permanent minority population; and policies designed to ration immigrant visas end up reinforcing the process of network formation and generating still more migrants, both legal and illegal.

Viewing immigration as an economic phenomenon, governments naively assume that the flow of immigrants can be managed and regulated like other economic processes. In the post war period, many governments attempted to recruit foreign workers to fill short-term economic needs, assuming that when the needs ended, the flow of migrants could be turned off as easily as it was turned on. This assumption has proved to unfounded.

In parts of Western Europe and the United States, for example, rapid economic growth has at times led to a demand for workers in certain sectors of the economy. Foreign labor was imported to meet this demand, but when no longer necessary, recruitment ended and foreign workers were encouraged to go home. But the number of foreign workers declined in only a few countries, and, as many workers chose to remain and sent abroad for family members, everywhere the size of foreign populations increased.

"Family reunification systems work at cross-purposes with the limitation of immigration because they reinforce the process of network formation and ... encourage further immigration."

Another area where governments often work at cross-purposes with stated policy objectives is in attempting to limit and ration immigrant visas. Most countries employ a rationing system that relies on the principle of family reunification, where immigrants are admitted if they already have a relative living in the country. Family reunification systems work at cross-purposes with the limitation of immigration because they reinforce the process of network formation and over time actually encourage further immigration.

In the long run, therefore, immigration tends to breed more immigration, and if there is one prediction for the future it is that the current period of global immigration will continue. The economic foundations of migration lie in the spread of capital-intensive economic developments to rapidly growing Third World populations that are linked to the developed world by modern systems of transportation and communication. Once immigration has begun, the social foundations of migration build a self-perpetuating momentum into the process. The growth and expansion of migrant networks progressively reduce the costs of international movement and make emigration a very attractive strategy for risk diversification among poor families in developing countries. Once a stage of mass migration has been reached, migration will tend to continue regardless of changes in wages, employment, or government immigration policies. ■

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The new book by Malcolm W. Browne, Muddy Boots and Red Socks *(New York: Times Books, a division of Random House, Inc. © 1993 by Malcolm W. Browne, 366 pages, $23.00) is the memoir of a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, a correspondent for* The New York Times. *With permission we reprint chapter 18.*

Beware the Third World

By Malcolm W. Browne

I have seen the future and it doesn't work. It's the Third World, and it's coming our way, as inexorably as the Africanized killer bees from Brazil.

When I lived in South Asia I discovered that a Bengali or Indian or Sri Lankan could fetch more money chopped into pieces and sold as laboratory specimens than he or she could as a live person. The reason for this horrible reality is that medical specimens are always in demand, while there is always a surplus of people in places like the Indian subcontinent.

In just a few months in 1971, war and monsoon floods combined to kill about one million people in East Pakistan, and the Bengali landscape in 1971 looked like a medieval allegory of the Apocalypse. But though death seemed to reign supreme, birth swiftly overtook it. United Nations demographers I knew, whose detailed census produced the first really reliable estimate of population growth in Bengal, computed that another one million people were being created every eighty-four days. Put another way; in less than three months, Bangla Desh replaced all the million human beings whose corpses choked its rivers, floodplains, villages and wells. And since then, the time needed to grow a million Bengalis has been cut in half.

The brutal fact is that most of the people of Bangladesh — indeed, most of the people living in the Third World — are unneeded and unwanted by the rest of the human race, and living in lands that simply cannot sustain them. Chronic optimists cluck and say, well, all we need do is teach the benighted people of South Asia, Africa and Latin America to produce more and to limit their consumption.

Produce what? And limit what consumption? Hordes are starving already. And are we to tell the Indians and Bengalis and Chinese and Somalis and Andean peoples that they must curb their appetites for refrigerators, cars and television. Have we the right?

To me, Bengal is the Ghost of Christmas Yet to Come, for it shows what can happen anywhere in the creeping Third World.

Bengal once supplied the world's jute market, but today's producers of grain ship their products in bags made mostly of synthetic fibers, and the market for Bengali jute has largely dried up. The country sells its only other major crop, Basmati rice, to China. This brings in some badly needed foreign exchange, but in return, Bengal often imports inferior Chinese rice to feed its own people. Bangla Desh and China, in effect trade rice for rice.

With neither any industry worthy of the name nor a profitable agricultural base, Bangladesh has few jobs, and the poverty of its people is beyond belief. The average person is a liability to his or her community, not an asset. The only consolation is that most people die young.

But there has long been a brisk market for human skeletons, skulls, brains, livers and other odds and ends. Human parts are used in the West by medical schools, laboratories and pharmaceutical manufacturers for a variety of purposes, and the cadaver trade has been largely supplied by India, Sri Lanka and Bengal. (These countries have all outlawed the export of human remains and reduced the flow — unwisely, in my opinion — but a living can still be made from the human flesh market.)

It's hardly surprising, then, that a lot of poor people have come to value the contents of their nation's graves and rivers more than their own living kin. The price of a human skull in America can feed a Bengali family for a year!

When I speak of the Third World, I mean something more than a range of latitudes or distinctive colors on a map, something that goes beyond the numbers describing gross national product, literacy, infant mortality and the other indices of good fortune. I mean a collective state of mind.

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The label "Third World" is a euphemism for a domain embracing the urine-drenched sidewalks of New York City and Los Angeles slums, as well as the villages of the Nile Delta, the festering hamlets of Africa, Latin America and Asia, and all the other places where cruelty, intolerance and superstition rule. The Third World is not a "developing" culture. It is a putrefying state of existence perpetually in the grip of a plague deadlier than anthrax: the burgeoning human race.

For the last dozen years I have devoted most of my reporting to science, including the sciences applied to environmental problems. I have become convinced that until population growth can be controlled, all other environmental problems will remain insoluble.

"I have become convinced that until population growth can be controlled, all other environmental problems will remain insoluble."

We hear and read quite a lot about these problems — acid rain, depletion of the ozone layer, "greenhouse" planetary warming, the fouling of the seas and the proliferation of waste of all kinds.

Meanwhile, biologists tell us that as we chop away at the wilderness we are killing thousands of species a year simply depriving them of habitat, and that the greatest mass extinction in the planet's history is now taking place, not because of the impact of an asteroid or the drying up of inland seas, but because of unchecked human reproduction. We are destroying the global gene pool, a resource that might not only have made our planet more interesting but which has given us some potent defenses against disease and starvation.

Some world leaders have begun to worry particularly about the torrent of carbon dioxide we pour into the atmosphere, which may end up warming the whole earth, with devastating effects on agriculture and life.

But rarely do the politicians mention that all human beings exhale carbon dioxide from their own lungs, not just from their chimneys and the tail pipes of their car. We each foul the global nest merely be breathing.

Moreover, every human being consumes energy, resources and food. We all also produce vast amounts of waste, and something physicists call entropy, an entity that reflects the disorder of systems. Scientists who study environmental problems are in wide agreement that until we do something about unchecked human reproduction, piecemeal attacks on chloro-fluorocarbons and carbon dioxide and desertification and all the other man-made scourges will always be inadequate. Our biggest problem is people.

That simple and seemingly obvious fact is indigestible. News directors don't like it much more than does the Vatican, or the mullahs of Saudi Arabia, or any who believe that more is better when it comes to population.

The Third World, like AIDS and killer-bee swarms, gropes outward with persistent tendrils, like the tender roots of plants that pierce even concrete sewer pipes. The branch of medicine called epidemiology has turned up evidence that the Third World has something in common with bacterial cultures and cancerous tumors.

In a bacterial culture, organisms propagate exponentially and without limit, as long as they have food and room to dump their wastes. Given the chance, they will consume every last molecule of the nutrient medium in which they live. But when the nutrients are exhausted and waste products increase without limit, a population crash in the colony inevitably occurs, as every freshman bacteriology student knows.

Less well known is the fact the expanding cities at the close of the twentieth century have come to resemble bacterial colonies that are on the verge of depleting their nutrient media to extinction.

Scientists have noticed similarities, for instance, between the changing shape of Los Angeles as seen by space satellite, and the changes visible in petri-dish cultures inoculated with *E. coli* bacteria, organisms that live in animal guts. Both the bacterial and human colonies expand in intricate fractal patterns, gradually filling the spaces surrounding them. Judging from satellite pictures, human beings in Los Angeles exhibit no more ability to control their own collective growth than do the *E. coli* germs.

Human reproduction also has some disturbing similarities to cancer. In an analysis he published in

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1990 in the journal *Population and Environment*, Warren M. Hern, an anthropologist at the University of Colorado, noted some striking clinical parallels between a typical urban community and a malignant neoplasm, a cancerous tumor. They share rapid, uncontrolled growth, they invade and destroy adjacent tissues, and cells (or people) lost their differentiation, the concerted specialties and skills needed to sustain a society or a multicelled animal.

In his monograph, Dr. Hern included photographs taken from space satellites showing the growth of Baltimore and the colonization of the Amazon basin, side by side with photomicrographs of cancers of the lung and brain. They were hard to tell apart.

"The human species," Dr. Hern wrote, "is a rapacious, predatory, omniecophagic [devouring its entire environment] species" that exhibits all the pathological features of cancerous tissue. He grimly concluded that the human "cancer" will most likely destroy its planetary host before dying out itself.

Many would disagree with that assessment, but for what it's worth, my own experience as a journalist bears it out.

"I suppose journalists should be grateful to the Third World for supplying us with much of the dramatic misery we are able to pass on to our readers and viewers."

And as we contemplate the social, political and economic needs of, say, Somalia, it may be well to remember that kindly instincts may do more harm than good when the real ogre is overpopulation.

In 1990 *The Lancet*, Britain's leading medical journal, included a paper and an accompanying editorial that shocked some readers by saying what public health experts have long acknowledged: there are things worse than merciful death.

The author of the *Lancet* paper, Dr. Maurice King of the department of public health medicine at the University of Leeds, England, has devoted his career to saving lives, and he is no callous crank. But he has observed how excess population inflicts famine and other curses on many parts of the Third World — and how the population plague is engulfing more countries every year. Dr. King believes that for people caught in the demographic trap, there are only four possibilities.

They can stay where they are and die of starvation and disease, they can flee their homelands to seek salvation in more prosperous countries; they can kill themselves off by war or genocide; or, finally, they can live on foreign aid, "first as emergency relief and then, perhaps, indefinitely."

In countries racked by cholera and dysentery, many of the infants who in the past would have been doomed to die of dehydration can now be saved by oral rehydration, Dr. King noted. But when a nation afflicted by cholera is also dying of hunger, a thoughtful public health official must make Solomonic decisions. "Such ... measures as oral rehydration should not be introduced on a public health scale, " Dr. King wrote, "since they increase the man-years of human misery, ultimately from starvation."

In other words, millions of the world's people today would be better off dead, in Dr. King's opinion. Another British scientist, A.V. Hill, asked the following question in an address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science: "If ethical principles deny our right to do evil in order that good may come, are we justified in doing good when the foreseeable consequence is evil?"

The conservative editors of *The Lancet* endorsed Dr. King's shocking conclusions.

"Global population grows by a remarkable 1 million more births than deaths every four days," the journal said. "If a bomb as destructive as the one that destroyed Hiroshima had been dropped every day since August 6, 1945, it would not have stabilized human numbers. ...

"Through an unhappy combination of indecision, political cowardice, scientific illiteracy and bureaucratic myopia, will human numbers simply drift toward 15 billion?" *The Lancet* asked.

Among the answers proposed for the population bomb are an intensive campaign to educate and emancipate Third World women; a crash program to reduce the economic gulf between the rich and poor nations; and bounty to any man or woman willing to undergo sterilization.

But many scientists believe such measures will inevitably be too little and too late. One ingenious alternative that some experts are pondering would

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exploit a harmless virus to spread an epidemic of human sterility for a few years ... long enough, perhaps, for the planet to catch its breath.

The scheme would depend on the meshing of two biological techniques, both of which are under investigation. This first is the development of an antifertility vaccine that would immunize a man or woman against conception for a few years, just as people are protected by vaccines against tetanus, smallpox and many other diseases.

"The North-South Dialogue has no more chance of a friendly resolution than the Hundred Years War, but it does, at least, provide work for diplomats and journalists."

The other prong of the new therapy would be the development of a bacterial or viral carrier that would make the antifertility factor infectious — capable, that is, of spreading throughout the human race on its own. Infection of a few individuals with the sterility bug might produce an epidemic that might spread widely enough to reduce the global birthrate for a while, until human beings became immune and resumed breeding.

One of the pioneers in this little-known but potentially important field of research is Dr. Cecil Hugh Tyndale-Biscoe of the Australian government's Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization. He and other scientists are currently looking into the feasibility of springing something like this on Australia's overabundant rabbits. But the scientists involved are very much aware that the technique might work for humans as well, although, as Dr. Tyndale-Biscoe put it, "I can't imagine the government of Australia or any other nation authorizing such an approach to human population control."

I suppose journalists should be grateful to the Third World for supplying us with much of the dramatic misery we are able to pass on to our readers and viewers. But since most sensible people would want to avoid personal contact with the Third World, here are some of the warning symptoms I have observed that can tell us when the Third World is nigh:

- *People refuse to stand in line for anything — buses, bread, railroad tickets, economic recovery, lifeboats — anything Altruism toward strangers disappears, and devil-take-the-hindmost public behavior eclipses common decency.*
- *The clan take precedence over collective society in all matters, even while strolling the sidewalks. Friends or relatives fan out as they walk along, obstructing the way to strangers.*
- *Unenforced laws and edicts proliferate as rapidly as worthless money.*
- *Police take to carrying automatic weapons.*
- *Locally made products break, and the busiest and most prosperous artisans are the handymen and fixers.*
- *Range wars, wars for water rights and wars for simple living space become endemic.*
- *A pervasive religious hierarchy — priests, mullah or witch doctors — dominates society and suppresses dissent.*

One reason the Third World illness is so hard to treat is that people persist in kidding themselves with euphemisms like "Third World" and "developing." Argentina, for instance, is classified today as a "developing" country despite its retrograde progress over the past half century. In the 1930s, economists ranked Argentina as "developed," because of the riches it earned from its pampas, the vast grasslands that once produced enough cattle to feed a large part of the world. But because of the hemorrhaging of Argentine capital into foreign investments — and because of the country's backward social and political practices — Argentina has declined, and bankers now call it a "developing" country.

Why do otherwise reasonable people tolerate such distortions of language?

Now we have another misnomer called the "North-South Dialogue," a shouting match between the underprivileged nations of the Southern Hemisphere (a.k.a. "The Group of 77") and the alleged economic exploiters of the Northern Hemisphere, especially the United States. The North-South Dialogue has no more chance of a friendly resolution than the Hundred Years War, but it does,

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at least, provide work for diplomats and journalists.

Elusive though a good definition of the Third World may be, I think it boils down to an overall lack of commonweal, a collective unwillingness to work for anything larger than a family or clan.

"...it's every man for himself, even if this means putting a heel in some child's face to get through the exit door."

Like Pleistocene society, the Third World is violent, It offers constant work for people like my friend Clyde Collins Snow, a forensic anthropologist and defender of human rights, who travels far and wide searching for bones of the victims of Third World pogroms. Snow and his colleagues even sometimes manage to finger the state-sanctioned murderers themselves, for all the good it does them

Experts like Dr. Snow have some interesting insights into human behavior. For many years Snow was employed by the Federal Aviation Agency as an expert in the identification of bodies from airplane crashes. He examined the pitiful bones of thousands of crash victims, and from them, he came to an appalling conclusion: in virtually all airliner crashes that leave any survivors, the passengers who pull through tend to be sturdy, active men — frequent-flyer business travelers, for the most part. Women and children don't survive crashes very often. The clear evidence, which the FAA tried at one time to suppress, is that in a crash, it's every man for himself, even if this means putting a heel in some child's face to get through the exit door.

That, to my mind, is the essence of the Third World. ■

To Fatally Wound Community

To globalize the economy by erasure of national economic boundaries through free trade, free capital mobility, and free, or at least uncontrolled migration, is to wound fatally the major unit of community capable of carrying out any policies for the common good. That includes not only national policies for purely domestic ends, but also international agreements required to deal with those environmental problems that are irreducibly global (CO_2, ozone depletion). International agreements presuppose the ability of national governments to carry out policies in their support. If nations have no control over their borders they are in a poor position to enforce national laws, including those necessary to secure compliance with international treaties.

Cosmopolitan globalism weakens national boundaries and the power of national and subnational communities, while strengthening the relative power of transnational corporations. Since there is no world government capable of regulating global capital in the global interest, and since the desirability and possibility of world government are both highly doubtful, it will be necessary to make capital less global and more national.

— Herman E. Daly, "Farewell Lecture," January 14, 1994
after completing six years of service in the World Bank.
Professor Daly is now at the School of Public Affairs,
University of Maryland, College Park.

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America Undone

By Samuel P. Huntington

[*Editor's note: In the language of geology, Dr. Huntington had described fault lines between civilizations such as the one that runs through Europe separating Eastern and Western cultures.*]

One function of a paradigm is to highlight what is important (e.g., the potential for escalation in clashes between groups from different civilizations); another is to place familiar phenomena in a new perspective. In this respect, the civilizational paradigm may have implications for the United States.[1] Countries like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia that bestride civilizational fault lines tend to come apart. The unity of the United States has historically rested on the twin bedrocks of European culture and political democracy. These have been essentials of America to which generations of immigrants have assimilated. The essence of the American creed has been equal rights for the individual, and historically immigrant and outcast groups have invoked and thereby reinvigorated the principles of the creed in their struggles for equal treatment in American society. The most notable and successful effort was the civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the 1950s and 1960s. Subsequently, however, the demand shifted from equal rights for individuals to special rights (affirmative action and similar measures) for blacks and other groups.

Such claims run directly counter to the underlying principles that have been the basis of American political unity; they reject the idea of a "color-blind" society of equal individuals and instead promote a "color-conscious" society with government-sanctioned privileges for some groups. In a parallel movement, intellectuals and politicians began to push the ideology of "multiculturalism," and to insist on the rewriting of American political, social, and literary history from the viewpoint of non-European groups. At the extreme, this movement tends to elevate obscure leaders of minority groups to a level of importance equal to that of the Founding Fathers. Both the demands for special group rights and for multiculturalism encourage a clash of civilizations within the United States and encourage what Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. terms "the dis-uniting of America."

The United States is becoming increasingly diverse ethnically and racially. The Census Bureau estimates that by 2050 the American population will be 23 percent Hispanic, 16 percent black and 10 percent Asian-American. In the past the United States has successfully absorbed millions of immigrants from scores of countries because they adapted to the prevailing European culture and enthusiastically embraced the American creed of liberty, equality, individualism, democracy. Will the pattern continue to prevail as 50 percent of the population becomes Hispanic or nonwhite? Will the new immigrants be assimilated into the hitherto dominant European culture of the United States? If they are not, if the United States becomes truly multicultural and pervaded with an internal clash of civilizations, will it survive as a liberal democracy? The political identity of the United States is rooted in the principles articulated in its founding documents. Will the de-Westernization of the United States, if it occurs, also mean its de-Americanization? If it does, and Americans cease to adhere to their liberal democratic and European-rooted political ideology, the United States as we have known it will cease to exist and will follow the other ideologically defined superpowers onto the ash heap of history.[2] ■

NOTES

[1] See, for instance, the map in *Die Welt*, June 16, 1993, p.3.

[2] For a brilliant and eloquent statement of why the future of the United States could be problematic, see Bruce D. Porter, "Can American Democracy Survive?" in *Commentary*, November 1993, pp. 37-40.

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Vernon Briggs, professor of labor relations at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, is the author of Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force *and* Mass Immigration and the National Interest.

The Administration of U.S. Immigration Policy:

Time For Another Change

By Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

Although immigration policy has exerted a significant influence on the development of American society since its founding, the quest to find an appropriate administrative structure to implement these policies has been a perplexing experience. It has been characterized by frequent changes and multiple reorganizations. Given the history of immigration policy itself (which has been one of lagged responses by Congress to social, political and economic conditions that have already changed), it is not surprising that the revealed pattern has been one in which the administrative structure has been frequently found to be inappropriate for the times in which it exists. Such an incongruity is precisely the situation the nation faces again as it prepares to enter the 21st Century.

With the Clinton Administration calling for efforts "to reinvent government" to meet the challenges of the next century, it is amazing that the nation's immigration system has so far been excluded from these reform proposals. For there are few other areas of policymaking where a mere change in administrative structure of government could enhance the effectiveness of public policy more than in the area of immigration.

A Brief Historical Background

Prior to the Civil War, the attitude of the federal government toward immigration policy was essentially one of non-intervention. Except for establishing certain basic requirements for naturalization in 1802, the responsibility for immigration matters was left primarily to the individual states. Some federal laws were enacted in this era that sought to improve steerage conditions for passengers brought to the United States by sea and to impose some federal reporting requirements on steamship lines as to the number of immigrants they transported and their characteristics. The State Department was assigned the duty of overseeing compliance.

It was during the Civil War that Congress first created a centralized federal agency to oversee immigration policy. As part of legislation enacted in 1864 to encourage the immigration of contract workers to meet employer claims that there was a labor shortage, a Commissioner of Immigration position was established under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of State to oversee the effort. In 1868, in response to fierce criticism by organized labor that contract workers were depressing wages, causing unemployment, and being used as strike breakers, the legislation was repealed and the Commissioner's post was abolished. Contract labor itself, however, was not prohibited; only federal support for the practice was terminated.

"There are few other areas of policymaking where a mere change in administrative structure of government could enhance the effectiveness of public policy more than in the area of immigration."

During the 1870s, Congress passed laws that for the first time sought to establish some screening criteria on immigrants. Initially, these dealt with prohibitions on the admission of convicts and prostitutes. But who was to enforce these new bans? In 1876, the issue of responsibility for the administration of immigration policy took an historic turn when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state

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immigration laws in New York, California, and Louisiana were unconstitutional [*Henderson v. Mayor of the City of New York*, (1876)]. The era whereby states could act on their own initiative to pass laws to exclude certain categories of undesirable aliens and to levy taxes on incoming aliens was ended.

It was not until 1882, however, that Congress actually enacted legislation to create a system of federal control for the implementation of immigration policy. Legislation was adopted whereby the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to supervise the activities of the separate states who were still given the actual power to examine arriving aliens to see that they did not fall into an excludable category. Simultaneously, the list of grounds for exclusion was increased to include lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become a public charge. The states were authorized to tax each alien entering by way of water a fee of $.50 cents to defray the costs of their screening. Later that year, Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act. In 1885 it also took action to outlaw the practice of contract labor. Actual enforcement of all of these federal statutes, however, was still left to officers of the various state governments.

"In 1903, the Bureau of Immigration was shifted to the new Department of Commerce and Labor... reflect[ing] the belief by Congress that immigration is primarily an economic issue."

Following a series of congressional hearings in the late 1880s that revealed that these federal laws were being widely circumvented and unevenly applied, the era of joint federal-state administration was terminated in 1891. Legislation was adopted that specified exclusive federal responsibility for the implementation of the nation's immigration policies. In response, the Bureau of Immigration (BI) was created in the Department of the Treasury on July 21, 1891. All enforcement duties were transferred to federal officers; inspection stations were created on the Canadian and Mexican borders; and additional categories of exclusion were added. The following year, the Supreme Court upheld this claim of exclusive federal authority even though these regulatory powers were not specified in the Constitution [*Elkie v. United States*, (1892)].

In 1903, the Bureau of Immigration was shifted to the new Department of Commerce and Labor that was created that year. The change reflected the belief by Congress that immigration is primarily an economic issue. With the nation in the throes of mass immigration, and there still being no ceiling on overall immigration, the primary concerns of the agency at the time were its continuing efforts to prevent *sub rosa* arrangements for contract labor and to enforce the numerous provisions for exclusion.

The most immediate concern of Congress, however, was with the chaotic state of naturalization policy. Many immigrants were sought as workers but the prospect that they could become citizens was abhorrent to a number of citizen groups. Moreover, there were also vast differences among the practices of various courts which had actual jurisdiction over these procedures. Thus, naturalization requirements were overhauled and standardized in 1906. In the process, the responsibility for supervising naturalization was added to the agency's responsibilities and it became the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (BIN).

In 1913, Congress split the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor into two separate federal agencies. BIN was placed in the new Department of Labor. The placement of this authority in the Labor Department was further recognition by Congress that immigration was primarily connected with employment, wage, and working condition issues. Within this new home, the responsibilities for immigration and for naturalization were split into two separate bureaus.

Against the backstop of these administrative changes in the first decade of the 20th Century, the subject of immigration policy itself rose to the forefront of public policy debates. Responding to congressional pressures, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed the U.S. Commission on Immigration in 1907 to study the adjustment effects of the mass immigration that the United States had been experiencing since before the turn of the century. It issued its famous report in 1911 that said that the continuation of virtually unlimited immigration was not in the national interest. It called

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for a number of significant changes — the most important being that illiterates, regardless of nationality, should not be allowed to enter the country and that ceilings should be placed by nationality on the number of immigrants who can enter each year. In 1917, over President Wilson's veto, a literacy test (requiring literacy in one's own language) was enacted by Congress. This law greatly increased the responsibilities of the federal agency in the screening process of would-be entrants.

It was also during this time that the United States entered World War I. Immigration levels declined sharply during the war years. The major concern, therefore, shifted to fears of the possible entry of spies or enemy agents. Hence, the country adopted requirements for passports for all aliens who sought to enter which added to the administrative duties.

Following the war, there were signs that mass immigration from Europe was about to be re-kindled. In 1921, Congress passed temporary legislation that placed an annual ceiling on overall immigration as well as individual quota restrictions based on nationality for each country of would-be immigrants. This law was extended by congressional resolution until it was replaced by the Immigration Act of 1924 which created an overall ceiling on legal immigration as a permanent feature of U.S. immigration law. The Act also established specific numerical quotas for each country of the Eastern Hemisphere that could not be exceeded.

In separate legislation in 1924, Congress responded to mounting concerns that the previous screening restrictions were being massively evaded by significant numbers of illegal immigrants crossing the land borders with Mexico and Canada. This law created the U.S. Border Patrol as part of the Bureau of Immigration. In the years that immediately followed, the issue of illegal immigration became of even greater concern as persons seeking to evade the restrictions of the Immigration Act of 1924 also sought to enter surreptitiously through Canada or Mexico.

In response to the persistent problems associated with immigration matters, President Franklin Roosevelt — as one of the early efforts of his new administration to reorganize government — merged the separate bureaus of immigration and of naturalization into the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). This was done by Executive Order 6166 which was issued on June 10, 1933. The INS, however, still remained in the Department of Labor in recognition that of the fact that immigration was still viewed as essentially an element of national employment policy. By this time, however, the nation was primarily concerned with other domestic economic issues. While overall immigration pressures had somewhat diminished because of the onset of the Great Depression, the complexity associated with the day-to-day administration and enforcement of immigration matters continued unabated. A new issue concerning the admission of refugees arose during the 1930s. But during this decade the Labor Department was also on the front line in addressing the pressing domestic issues of the period — i.e., mass unemployment and the efforts of the Administration to establish job creation programs; the rapidly deteriorating and polarizing state of labor-management relations over the topic of collective bargaining; and a host of labor protection issues relating to unemployment compensation, child labor, minimum wages, and maximum hours legislation.

"...immigration [after the creation of the INS] was still viewed as essentially an element of national employment policy."

Because the Department of Labor was at the vortex of the political debates surrounding these other domestic issues and because it was chronically understaffed and underfunded relative to its existing duties, the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, began in the mid-1930s to agitate behind the scenes for relief from the immigration responsibilities that seemed to be diverting attention and the resources of her Department away from the New Deal's efforts to confront the domestic crises. The opportunity to accomplish this change came in 1940 with the approach of World War II.

The Fateful Decision Made As a Wartime Expediency

As it became clear that it was likely that the United States would become involved in the war in

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Europe and probably in the Pacific region as well, the concern with immigration issues once again shifted from employment worries to internal security matters. It was feared that immigration would become a way of entry for enemy spies and saboteurs. Hence, on May 20, 1940, President Roosevelt recommended that Congress shift the INS from the Department of Labor to the Justice Department. It was part of another reorganization plan for government made necessary this time not for efficiency but for national security reasons. Indeed, in his message to Congress, the President clearly stated that "in normal times much can be said for the retention of the Bureau [sic][1] of Immigration and Naturalization in the Department of Labor where it has long resided" but, for "national safety" reasons, it was necessary to make this change because these were "not...normal days." In later background papers, the President said "after these days of emergencies have passed" that Congress should reconsider the matter of where the administration of immigration policy should be properly housed.

Interestingly, the Attorney General at the time, Robert H. Jackson, opposed the move and the Bureau of the Budget [known today as the Office of Management and Budget] that usually considers the efficacy of such administrative shifts was not even consulted. But the Secretary of Labor, who was a very close confidant of the President (their long administrative relationship dated back to the days when she worked with Roosevelt when he was Governor of New York), favored the change. In her autobiography, Perkins indicates that immigration issues had "swamped" the Department of Labor during the Depression Decade and it had caused "much neglect of the true function of the Labor Department." Perkins, on later reflection, however, indicated that she did not favor shifting these duties to the Department of Justice. In fact, in her autobiography, she explicitly states that "it should not be a permanent function" of that agency since it is not conducive to handling such "human affairs" issues. In fairness, it must also be said that she continued to believe it should not be returned to the Department of Labor either — but her reasons were simply that immigration issues would overshadow its other domestic responsibilities.

In any event, one thing is clear: the shift of the administration of immigration policy to the Justice Department was made as an expedient move. It was not intended to be a permanent action and it was certainly not made for any reason other than that of national security.

The Time for Reconsideration

When World War II ended, however, there was no attempt made to reconsider the wartime administrative change. In the subsequent post-war years, immigration — which had been declining in significance since the 1920s as a feature of American life — was inadvertently revived in the mid-1960s. How this sleeping giant of America's past was aroused is too long a story to tell here and it is not relevant for present purposes, but the numbers increased radically. Indeed, by the late 1970s another presidential commission had been formed, this time by President Jimmy Carter, to study the consequences of the revival of the mass immigration phenomenon. The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy issued its report in 1981 and concluded, in part, that immigration was "out of control." This Commission called for comprehensive changes and it specifically stated that "that this is not the time for a large scale expansion in legal immigration."

"[The 1981 Commission] specifically stated that 'this is not the time for a large-scale expansion in legal immigration.'"

Congress, however, chose to disregard these findings. In the years that followed the issuance of the Commission's report, Congress more than doubled the level of legal immigration suggested by the Commission; it enacted an ineffectual set of half-hearted measures to deter illegal immigration; and it has allowed the annual scale of entry of temporary foreign workers (called non-immigrant workers) and of refugees to be influenced more by the whims of special interest groups than by actual needs or circumstances. As a consequence, U.S. immigration policy in the 1990s is essentially a "hodge-podge" of politically-motivated initiatives that pays no attention to its collective economic implications.

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Unfortunately, the revival of mass immigration has not occurred in a vacuum. Instead, it has taken place at a time when the nation's labor force has been subjected to unprecedented forces of expansion related to the entry of women and the movement of members of the "baby boom" generation into the work force. There has not been any labor force shortage *per se* that would warrant the increase in immigration that has occurred. Moreover, the lack of attention to the human capital attributes of most of those who are admitted each year completely ignores the powerful economic changes associated with technological change and enhanced international competition that are dramatically restructuring the demand for labor in the United States. The emerging employment trends clearly reveal that most of the employment growth is occurring in occupations that require skills and education. Likewise, the occupations that require little in the way of human capital are precisely the ones that are rapidly disappearing. Unfortunately, the preponderance of the immigrants entering the United States are lacking the human capital endowments that are needed and are exactly the types of workers whose skills are not needed.

"There are many reasons why the Department of Justice is an inappropriate agency for the administration of immigration policy."

Although immigration policy itself is the heart of the current immigration crisis confronting the country, this does not mean that the administrative issue is unimportant. Indeed, it is precisely because the administrative structure is not open to the recognition of the fact that contemporary immigration policy has significant economic implications that immigration policy continues to function without accountability for its sizeable economic consequences.

There are many reasons why the Department of Justice is an inappropriate agency for the administration of immigration policy. To begin with it consists of a dozen or so major governmental divisions, all pleading for attention from the Attorney General. In this context, immigration matters have tended to be neglected or relegated to a low order of priority. Moreover, the Justice Department is the most politicized and politically sensitive of all federal agencies. It often chooses to pursue short-run, expedient solutions to controversial policy issues. Seldom has it manifested any interest in the economic consequences of immigration, nor has it ever seen fit to establish any ongoing research program to monitor the influences of immigration on the labor market or the economy. Moreover, the statistical data on immigration that it generates are primarily designed to meet administrative purposes rather than to serve policy-development needs.

An ancillary consequence of the shift of immigration policy to the Justice Department in 1940 has been that the Senate and House judiciary committees gained the responsibility for formulating immigration policy and for overseeing immigration affairs. Traditionally, membership on these committees has been reserved almost exclusively for lawyers. The result is that immigration law in the United States is obsessively complex and procedurally protracted. It also has meant that immigration lawyers and consultants have found a flourishing business venue — a "honey pot" — in manipulating the intricacies of immigration law. In a legalistic atmosphere that typically focuses on individual situations, the broader economic considerations that affect the collective welfare of society have become a distant concern.

It would be a major step toward the achievement of an immigration policy that is accountable for its economic effects if the INS were returned to its previous home in the Department of Labor, which is far better equipped to understand labor market issues and to be able to design and administer an immigration policy targeted to meet specific labor force needs. Being an employment-oriented agency, it could best identify the appropriate level of immigration that is needed each year and the specific occupational needs that immigration might be able to address. The Labor Department is better qualified to explain how prevailing employment levels could adjust to the specific numbers of immigrants and refugees that are annually admitted. Moreover, because it already has enforcement responsibilities for wage and hour violations, child labor laws, occupational health and safety laws, and

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migrant farmworkers protections, it could easily add enforcement of employer sanctions and anti-discrimination protections for resident aliens to its present duties.

Such an administrative shift would also mean that the labor and human resource committees of Congress would regain oversight responsibilities for immigration matters. These committees are usually composed of members who are more familiar with labor market concepts, more sensitive to labor force needs, and more aware of the labor market institutions that protect workers and prepare citizens for employment.

Changing the administrative structure that is responsible for the nation's immigration policy is no panacea. But a "re-invention" of the contributory role that government agencies can have in better serving the national interest is long overdue in the area of immigration matters.

It is time for another change. ■

NOTE

[1] Presumably because the decision to shift immigration to the U.S. Department of Justice in 1940 was made in haste, President Roosevelt mis-named the agency in his message to Congress. By 1940, the agency's correct name was the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, not the Bureau of Immigration.

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In Spanish, the poster/flyer in Los Angeles read:

CAN I RECEIVE ASSISTANCE IF I'M NOT A LEGAL RESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

YES

- It is not obligatory to be a legal resident of the United States in order to ask for and receive disaster assistance. It is possible to receive help even if you don't have documentation. The Federal Emergency Agency (FEMA) does not ask questions about your legal status when you're in this country.
- All information is confidential and is not given to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), nor to the IRS. For more information on these programs, call 1-800-525-0321. For the hearing impaired, call 1-800-600-8005.
- Disaster assistance is a coordinated effort between the Office of Emergency Services (OES) and the Federal Emergency Agency (FEMA).

Disaster assistance is available to everyone regardless of race, color, creed, sex, religion, nationality or wealth status. Anyone that feels they have been discriminated against should call 1-800-525-0321.

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Buying Open Borders

Foundations play a major role in the immigration debate, but none more so than the Ford Foundation, the largest in the U. S. (or in the world, for that matter). The foundation has long bankrolled some of the main opponents of immigration reform. Below is the record of the past 25 years for some of the immigration-related recipients of Ford Foundation largesse.

FORD FOUNDATION FUNDING OF ANTI-REFORM ORGANIZATIONS

(SOURCE: *Ford Foundation Annual Reports 1968-92.*)

Year	La Raza[a]	MALDEF[b]	LULAC[c]	NIRCForum[d]	NIP-NLG[e]	Year Total
1968	$630,000	$2,200,000	$0	$0	$0	$2,830,000
1969	$21,595	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21,595
1970	$1,953,700	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,953,700
1971	$150,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$150,000
1972	$8000,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$800,000
1973	$485,000	$415,000	$0	$0	$0	$900,000
1974	$425,000	$825,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,250,000
1975	$339,996	$0	$0	$0	$0	$339,996
1976	$271,984	$750,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,021,984
1977	$200,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$200,000
1978	$300,000	$887,200	$0	$0	$0	$1,187,200
1979	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
1980	$232,500	$742,425	$0	$0	$0	$974,925
1981	$240,000	$391,660	$15,200	$0	$0	$646,860
1982	$375,000	$900,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,275,000
1983	$162,732	$822,350	$0	$152,110	$0	$1,137,192
1984	$500,000	$1,400,000	$0	$142,290	$0	$2,042,290
1985	$0	$1,256,000	$0	$55,600	$15,000	$1,326,600
1986	$25,000	$1,300,000	$0	$84,000	$0	$1,409,000
1987	$110,000	$630,000	$0	$517,030	$0	$1,257,030
1988	$830,000	$1,350,000	$0	$235,000	$0	$2,415,000
1989	$452,000	$295,000	$134,000	$435,000	$48,000	$1,364,000
1990	$262,000	$1,575,000	$145,000	$0	$100,000	$2,082,000
1991	$1,250,000	$792,000	$330,000	$460,000	$50,000	$2,882,000
1992	$109,300	$1,545,000	$0	$175,000	$100,000	$1,929,300
Total	**$10,125,807**	**$18,076,635**	**$624,200**	**$2,256,030**	**$113,000**	**$31,395,672**

[a]National Council of La Raza
[b] Mexican-American Legal Defense & Education Fund
[c] League of United Latin-American Citizens
[d] National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum
[e] National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild

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Ira Mehlman heads the Writers Support Group at the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). This is the text of a speech delivered at a conference sponsored by the European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) at Bamburg, Germany, November 26, 1993.

Reluctant Observers

The American Media Take A Wary Look At Immigration

By Ira Mehlman

During the past two years there has been a sea change in the way immigration matters have been covered in the American news media. Immigration has moved out of the realm of human interest and onto center stage with other issues that the gatekeepers of the news deem as important stuff. A subject that just a few years ago was regarded by the media as being taboo or not of interest to the American public has, almost overnight, emerged as one of the hottest items on the media's agenda. In the words of the *Washington Post*'s foreign affairs editor, Jim Hoagland, immigration "is fast becoming Topic A across the globe."[1]

As recently as 1990, when Congress approved the largest increase in immigration levels in U.S. history, the issue remained barely a blip on the radar screens of the American news media. By 1993, immigration had become, along with the state of the economy, health care and crime, one of the staple domestic issues on the media's agenda. Immigration-related topics have been featured as cover and front page stories in virtually every major news magazine, and countless news broadcasts.[2]

It seems as though immigration has blossomed almost overnight as an important issue in the eyes of the American media. In fact, that is precisely what has happened.

While the American media have a penchant for the sensational and the prurient, they have a strong aversion to dealing with anything that could be construed as politically incorrect. Even as immigration levels grew steadily during the 1980s, the fear that a frank discussion of the issue could be construed as an attack on racial or ethnic minority groups kept the media (and others) away from most immigration stories. "This is not the 1920s,"[3] stated a *Newsweek* cover story in an effort to explain the reluctance of politicians (and, by extension, the media) to look at immigration critically.

The American media also tended to be more interested in individual stories rather than looking at immigration as an important social phenomenon. Immigrants had names and faces and understandable human aspirations. *Immigration*, by contrast, was a dry, boring subject that would put most people to sleep. Thus, immigration coverage until very recently was limited to high-minded cliches and symbolism with little real analysis of the significant implications of this emerging social phenomenon.

"Events ... have conspired to force the media to pay attention to immigration, whether they really wanted to or not."

Events, however, have conspired to force the media to pay attention to immigration, whether they really wanted to or not. It is impossible for the media to report on what seems like an endless chain of immigration-related news events and not begin to take a critical look at the phenomenon itself. Just within the past twelve months the front pages of newspapers and evening newscasts have been filled with stories of Zoë Baird and her illegal alien nanny; murders outside CIA headquarters by a Pakistani asylum claimant; the bombing of the World Trade Center; abuse of political asylum at U.S. airports; and Chinese boat people, smuggled by organized crime rings, landing on both coasts. Immigration was simply forcing itself onto the media's agenda and it had to be dealt with.

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A Look There to Talk About Here

The first tentative steps toward making a critical assessment of the impact of immigration had already begun by the time the news events of 1993 forced the subject onto center stage. It began a few years earlier with a phenomenon that journalist Roy Beck describes as "Afghanistanism" (a term coined long before Afghanistan became a central battleground of the Cold War). It is the examination of a touchy problem by the media in some far-off, obscure part of the world, rather than your own. The recognition that a problem exists somewhere else allows the media to look at it from the perspective of an objective, dispassionate observer. Watching someone else grapple with an issue that makes us uncomfortable provides us (and the media) with a certain amount of cover to ask questions we would avoid asking about ourselves.

The American media, when it felt compelled to address immigration after ignoring it for most of the 1980s, began gingerly by looking at disturbing events that were, conveniently enough, occurring in Europe. Questions that could never be raised about the effects of immigration in the United States were more palatable when posed about events taking place on the other side of the Atlantic. Doubts about our own immigration policies could be more acceptably raised when the doubts were attributable to outsiders' analysis of its implications.

A 1991 *New York Times Magazine* cover story examined immigration to Europe in terms that, at the time, would have been unthinkable for an article about immigration to the United States. "Are European societies destined to ... become multiracial and multi-ethnic? Are Europeans willing to accept such a transfor-mation? Do they have the means and power to prevent it, even if they want to?"[4] These were precisely the questions that many Americans harbored about the future of their own country, but which were never raised in the media. The U.S. media reported about these issues on the American scene with the same matter-of-factness that they reported the weather.

In looking at Europe, the pros and cons of immigration-generated diversity could be discussed more freely because any conclusions we came to had little meaning. Americans could not control what happened to European societies. The media were not yet ready to ask these same questions of American society because a conclusion that increasing diversity was not in American interests would suggest that we ought to do something about it. Better not to ask the question unless you're ready to accept the answer.

"The American media, when it felt compelled to address immigration ... began gingerly by looking at disturbing events that were, conveniently enough, occurring in Europe."

Whatever apprehensions the U.S. media had about the direction of American immigration policy were best expressed by assigning them to outside observers. They could accomplish this by reporting about how others viewed the United States. "The future, Europeans boasted, lay not in deficit-plagued, drug-ridden, ethnically and racially divided America. It belonged to Europe, whose social cohesion, booming economies and strong governments" gave them an advantage.[5] In other words, it was not the *Times* that thought America was plagued by ethnic and racial tensions, people in Europe did. The *Times* was merely reporting what foreigners thought about the state of our society.

The acts of violence against foreigners in Europe, primarily in Germany, gave the U.S. press another opportunity to practice the art of "Afghanistanism" in their examination of the immigration issue. While reacting with obvious repulsion over the attacks against asylum-seekers in Germany, the American media also found room and time to look at the underlying causes of the tensions erupting in Europe, namely the massive numbers of people seeking asylum in Germany and elsewhere. While they could not yet acknowledge that high levels of immigration were causing problems in the United States, they were able see that it was a problem in Europe.

Before it became widely acceptable editorially to assert that immigration was becoming a social and financial burden to the United States, major media outlets by 1992 were prepared to take a critical look at conditions in Europe. In an editorial condemning the attacks against foreigners in Rostock, *The New York Times* acknowledged that part of the problem

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stemmed from the fact that hundreds of thousands of people were pouring into Germany each year, filing false claims of political asylum and straining an already overburdened social system. "That's social dynamite in the conditions of 1992,"[6] stated the editorial. Moreover, tightening asylum regulations was, in the paper's opinion, a "reasonable" step. (It took evidence of massive fraud and outright terrorism before the same conclusions could be drawn about asylum policy at home.)[7]

Sensational Events in the U.S.

On the domestic scene, the American media limited its critical examination of immigration matters to the most flagrant forms of illegal immigration. This was particularly true for television news. Scenes of large numbers of people breaching U.S. borders made for dramatic video footage, long the staple of television news. In contrast to the dry, difficult (and often taboo) subjects of the social and economic costs of immigration generally, a trip to the border with a video camera guaranteed exciting, easily understood pictures for the evening news or magazine shows.

"The media have had a much harder time figuring out how to deal with the economic and social issues associated with immigration."

Equally important, however, was the perception that large-scale illegal immigration was a safe subject. The media, ever sensitive to charges of "immigrant bashing" or being anti-Hispanic, knew they had more or less a free ride when it came to showing scenes of chaos along the border. Though ethnic advocates might be displeased by those reports, there was little they could say to defend illegal immigration. It is difficult to accuse the camera of lying or making value judgements. All the networks had to do was turn them on and let them roll.

In January 1992, two of the major U.S. networks, CBS and ABC, devoted their weekly news magazine shows, "48 Hours" and "20/20" to the subject of America's uncontrolled border and the costs of illegal immigration. Without actually having to editorialize themselves, graphic scenes of illegal aliens wantonly crossing the border, laughing derisively at the Border Patrol, said more to the American public than any commentary the network could have provided. Likewise, scenes of thousands of illegal immigrants lined up for free health care in the United States or to deliver their babies at enormous cost to the taxpayers, could not help but evoke outrage among viewers.

When it came to light in early 1993 that America's political asylum laws were being flagrantly abused (and that the abuse had been a factor in acts of terrorism in the United States), it was also relatively easy for the media to deal with that phenomenon. In the aftermath of the World Trade Center bombing in February 1993, America's highest rated television program, "60 Minutes,"[8] felt free to run a story critical of lax political asylum regulations without feeling compelled to balance the report with the views of those who supported existing asylum policies.

The media have had a much harder time figuring out how to deal with the economic and social issues associated with immigration. These issues were a lot less clear cut and infinitely more controversial. Perhaps even more significant than the sudden attention the media have given the subject of immigration has been the beginning of a real debate about what the phenomenon means to social and economic stability of the United States.

This critical assessment of the overall impact of immigration to the United States did not begin in earnest until 1992 in the wake of the Los Angeles riots and California's state budget crisis. In trying to make sense out of the mindless destruction that occurred in Los Angeles in late April and early May of 1992, the media had no choice but to examine the role immigration had played as a factor in creating the explosive conditions in that city.

For the first time, the mainstream media were willing to consider the possibility that immigration might be having a negative effect on the economic prospects of many Americans, particularly African Americans. Two remarkable op-ed pieces, in two of the country's most influential newspapers, laid at least part of the blame for the urban tension in Los Angeles (and by inference, other major cities) at the feet of U.S. immigration policy. National security

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expert Edward N. Luttwak wrote in *The New York Times*:

> *[W]hat happened in Los Angeles can be more fundamentally explained as the outcome of a purely economic phenomenon — the loss of traditional underclass jobs to... immigrants.... Thus, it is not the riots that are surprising but rather the semblance of tranquility in most places, most of the time,*[9]

Similarly, Otis Graham and Roy Beck, writing in the *Los Angeles Times* asserted that, "It is immigration, currently running at unprecedented levels, that exacerbates the economic and social forces behind the riots."[10] Even analyses of the riots by the newspapers themselves could not overlook the impact that massive immigration had had in Los Angeles. "Enormous waves of foreign immigrants arrived [during the 1980s] and began to push blacks out... One of the most disturbing aspects of the disorders... was the raw hostility between blacks and Koreans,"[11] *The New York Times* wrote in its analysis of the causes of the riots.

And Then the Pocketbook

The Los Angeles riots also coincided with another seminal event in California — namely that the "Golden State," the land of endless opportunity, was in dire fiscal straits. During a protracted budget crisis that extended through the entire summer of 1992, the local and national media searched for reasons why California was such a mess. That massive immigration, legal and illegal, was a prime factor could not be ignored either by Governor Pete Wilson or the media.

For the first time, the media, both in California and nationally, began to question whether immigration was really the unmixed economic blessing they had assumed it to be. The uncritical acceptance of the assertion that immigration is absolutely an economic benefit has been extremely difficult for many in the media to overcome, even in the face of mounting empirical evidence that immigration is bankrupting some parts of the country. Nowhere was that sentiment more evident than in an irate response by Steven V. Roberts of *U.S. News & World Report* to criticism of his reporting by Dan Stein, executive director of FAIR. Roberts, one of the most prominent journalists in Washington, in a memo to his editor, asserted with almost religious conviction that "All studies — and I mean all of them — indicate that 'In the long run, immigrants benefit the economy with their energy and productivity.'"[12]

Notwithstanding the strongly held views of journalists like Roberts, the media have been unable to ignore the growing body of evidence emanating from California that immigration was becoming an enormous financial burden to the state and its counties and cities. Reports issued by San Diego County in August, 1992 and by Los Angeles County in November, 1992 — which documented billions of dollars in taxpayer costs to attend to the needs of immigrants in those counties — received widespread coverage in both the California and the national press.

"...the media have been unable to ignore the growing body of evidence emanating from California that immigration was becoming an enormous financial burden..."

Even the *Wall Street Journal*, an unabashed booster of unlimited immigration,[13] has been forced to acknowledge that problems exist. Tim W. Ferguson, a regular columnist for the *Journal*, who was once the most doctrinaire of libertarians on the immigration issue was forced to concede that "A foreign influx has a mixed effect on the economy, but few deny it causes short-run strain on taxpayers."[14]

When California Governor Pete Wilson took the unprecedented step of placing full-page ads in several national newspapers this summer to complain about the cost of illegal immigration in his state, he was severely criticized by the media for being intemperate, even while they acknowledged that he had a legitimate beef. "Avoid Knee-Jerk Responses to Immigration Problems,"[15] read the editorial headline in *USA Today*. "California Scapegoats,"[16] was the accusatory headline in *The New York Times* editorial on the same subject.

While numerous newspapers and commentators castigated Wilson for publicly complaining about the cost of immigration, every editorial assessment of

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California's predicament also included mention of the fact that the state was being unduly burdened by enormous costs associated with immigration. The message the media were sending to Wilson went something like this: "Okay Pete, we agree that you have a problem, but trust us, it will all work out in the end. So for God's sake, quit making such a fuss."

On the issue of immigration-related costs, the American news media seem to have lapsed into a state of denial. They have managed, on the one hand, to report that state and local governments are being overwhelmed by the costs of immigration, that reputable economists consider immigration to be an economic drain, while continuing to cling stubbornly to Steven Roberts' assertion that "All studies — and I mean all of them," show that immigration is good for the economy. They seem to be oblivious to the obvious contradictions.

"[Authors] Brimelow and Miles [have] forced their colleagues to acknowledge that restrictionism is a legitimate viewpoint."

Clearly old myths and deeply-held beliefs about the economic effects of immigration die hard among the reporters who write about this subject. But as any good public relations professional will attest, there is no such thing as bad publicity. The mere fact that the debate rages about whether immigration is a net economic plus or minus constitutes a major breakthrough. Just a few years ago those who argued that it harmed the economy got about as much respect and attention as those who contend the earth is flat.

Which Way Culture?

A second major area of new exploration by the media is the examination of social and cultural consequences of immigration. Terms like multiculturalism and diversity have become part of the American lexicon in recent years, and immigration is the driving force behind the changing ethnic and cultural composition of the United States. Oddly, while multiculturalism has long been a hot topic in some of the more sophisticated national publications, the immigration angle was rarely raised.

That began to change in 1992. Leading opinion magazines representing mainstream conservative and liberal thought, *National Review* and *Atlantic*, each ran ground-breaking pieces exploring the social and cultural implications of current U.S. immigration policy. Coming at the issue from distinctly different points of view, Peter Brimelow and Jack Miles built meticulous arguments against the current trends that instantly gave the restrictionist point of view credibility and intellectual cover among other journalists.

For reporters who cover immigration in the daily newspapers or weekly news magazines, and who do not have the luxury of being able to devote a great deal of time thinking about it, Brimelow and Miles have provided convenient handbooks for understanding the restrictionist position. By early summer of 1993, immigration had become one of the two or three hottest political issues around and the media could no longer discount the restrictionist point view as mere xenophobia.

Time and again, as the media scramble to make sense out of a hot issue they have long ignored, Brimelow and Miles are cited in order to define the issues and the players. "The political consensus that led to the last reforms [i.e., the immigration increases of 1990] has broken down," assessed *U.S. News & World Report.*

> *[F]issures have grown on every side. Last summer, the conservative* National Review *blasted current pro-immigration policies that tilt toward Third World immigrants.... Moreover, an* Atlantic Monthly *cover story last year by liberal journalist Jack Miles called for a moratorium on immigration to help poor black Americans get ahead.*[17]

Arguments that publications like *U.S. News* were not prepared to raise on their own, could now be discussed and safely attributed to others.

While continuing to describe the changing political climate in negative terms as a backlash,[18] the intellectual framework for limiting immigration set out by Brimelow and Miles has forced their colleagues to acknowledge that restrictionism is a legitimate viewpoint. Conservative columnist George Will, among the most widely respected political pundits in the United States, has clearly had his

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thinking on the subject influenced by the arguments set forth by Brimelow and says so explicitly in his columns. Until very recently a supporter of open immigration, Will now questions the wisdom of such a policy based on the cultural arguments made in the Brimelow essay:

> *America is not just an economy; it is more than an arena for wealth creation. It is a culture. The high rate of immigration since 1960, combined with the high fertility rate of immigrants relative to that of native-born Americans, is producing rapid change in the nation's ethnic and cultural balance.*[19]

The same concerns about the effect of immigration on American culture can be heard from more liberal commentators as well. Opening his Sunday morning news discussion program, which was devoted to the subject of immigration, David Brinkley, one of the deans of television journalism, raised the same concerns expressed by Will:

> *A middle-aged woman wrote to us as follows: "Will I or my children see the end of our United States as we have known it? Will we see the end of our 350-year-old legal and social system, and our language washed away in a flood of immigrants, legal and illegal, while we who have lived here for generations have nothing to say about it?*[20]

While still a mine field that most journalists and columnist would just as soon avoid, it is no longer absolutely taboo to raise the cultural concerns associated with immigration. Because the cultural arguments resonate so powerfully with the American people and appeal to their emotions (where most political battles are fought and won), the ability to address those concerns in the media represents a sea change in how immigration is likely to be dealt with.

In a similar fashion, Jack Miles' "Blacks vs. Browns" cover story in the October, 1992 *Atlantic* has had the effect of desensitizing the racial aspect of the immigration debate in the press. For a long time the American media seemed to buy into the pro-immigration movement's argument that any discussion of limiting immigration was tantamount to thinly veiled racism. Miles' liberal case for limiting immigration was like a shot between the eyes for many of his colleagues. In the *Washington Post*, for example, the Miles article was viewed as

> *no mere white man's sensitive groping for his own feeling. It is a marshaling of analysis and statistic, as well as his personal experience... that in the end leads him to call for a profound reevaluation of immigration policy.... This leads Miles to conclude, against powerful contrary instincts, that controlling the influx of immigrants may be the only way to rescue the underclass, particularly the black underclass, in the United States today.*[21]

The freedom to discuss the immigration issue frankly, without the dreaded charge of racism hanging over their heads, represented a second important breakthrough for the coverage of the issue in the American press. Opening up the arena of "culture" as one fit for polite discussion and eliminating the automatic cloture that the charge of racism used to carry, has led to a qualitative change in the way immigration is handled in the American media. This has been no less important than the quantitative change in coverage that has occurred as a result of the high profile news events of the past year.

More Reasonable Discussion

In this new, more relaxed media atmosphere that seems to be emerging, proponents of immigration limitation are no longer automatically demonized as Know-Nothings, or worse. This is a hugely important advance in the attitude of the media that will have a great deal to do with how immigration is covered as the issue continues to heat up. Once the media have acknowledged that the proponents of a particular viewpoint are decent thoughtful people, their opinions — even if they are not shared by most of the press — must be treated with respect.

"...proponents of immigration limitation are no longer automatically demonized as Know-Nothings, or worse."

The most shocking example of this fundamental change in attitude appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, a newspaper that has long been editorially

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hostile to the notion of immigration limits. Analyzing the sticky political matter that immigration presents for President Clinton, the newspaper was startlingly frank about who the open immigration proponents are and who favors limits. "The advocates of a liberal immigration policy tend to be found on the far left and the far right of the political spectrum, an unusual alliance of civil libertarians and economic conservatives.... But at the nation's political center, where Clinton's electoral future lies, there is growing anxiety about"[22] the consequences of current immigration levels.

"Like it or not ... immigration is an issue the American media will be forced to report on and analyze for many years to come."

The New Republic, a leading mainstream liberal opinion magazine, which has traditionally promoted high levels of immigration has also, in recent months, been forced to recognize that although they might disagree with the restrictionists, those in favor of limits can no longer be written off as mere kooks. "The next major post-cold war debate seems to be forming around the issue of immigration, and already the post-ideological ironies are piling up,"[23] stated the magazine. *The New Republic* then proceeded to demonstrate how the political battle lines over immigration do not break neatly according to political ideology. Restrictionists, therefore, cannot be easily dismissed by the media as a fringe element in the political mix. Regardless of the editorial bias of the newspaper, magazine or broadcast outlet, someone whose opinion they hold in high regard seems to be in the restrictionist camp Like it or not (and they probably don't), immigration is an issue the American media will be forced to report on and analyze for many years to come. If the pattern that has emerged to this point holds true in the future, we can expect them to do it in a fairly predictable manner — they will be dragged reluctantly into the fray, but only after others have provided them with the necessary cover.

In one of the more candid assessments of the media's role in reporting about immigration, columnist Jonathan Alter concedes that elitism will inescapably color the media's coverage of the immigration debate. It's easy "for someone like me to tell [American workers] to calm down about [immigration]. Except for a few facile British wordsmiths invading our shores, I don't have to worry about foreigners threatening my job,"[24] writes Alter (who then proceeds to tell American workers to quit worrying about foreigners taking their jobs).

Despite its post-Watergate bravado about being willing to take on any issue or any icon, the Fourth Estate is in many respects among the most timid institutions in American society. In reviewing the history of media coverage of immigration in recent years, we discover the coverage has consistently been several years behind the curve. Only after someone, or some group, has stepped out in front and absorbed the initial barrage of criticism for attacking somebody's sacred cow, do the American media step in and begin to look at the issue on their own.

It is a pattern that can be expected to be followed as the debate continues to unfold. Instead of providing a mirror that reflects the mood of the country, the American media are more apt to provide a parabola which picks up echoes of a debate that is growing in intensity around the country. ■

NOTES

[1] Hoagland, Jim, "Toward Zero Immigration," *The Washington Post*, June 10, 1993.

[2] The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the nation's largest immigration reform group, has been cited in about 300 newspaper and magazine articles and its spokespersons have appeared on 140 radio and 60 television broadcasts in the first eight months of 1993.

[3] Morgenthau, Tom, "America: Still a Melting Pot?" *Newsweek*, August 9, 1993.

[4] Miller, Judith, "Strangers at the Gate: Europe's Immigration Crisis," *The New York Times Magazine, September 15, 1991.*

[5] ibid.

[6] "Combating Racism, After Rostock," *The New York Times*, September 4, 1992.

[7] An interesting contrast to the way the American media looked at immigration problems in Europe while ignoring them at home, is the way immigration was being covered in some European publications. The respected British news magazine, *The Economist*, consistently views immigration as a problem for Europe, but not for America.

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[8] March 15, 1993.

[9] Luttwak, Edward N., "The Riots: Underclass vs Immigrants," *The New York Times, May 15, 1992.*

[10] Graham, Otis L., Jr. and Beck, Roy, "To Help Inner City, Cut Flow of Immigrants," *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1992.

[11] Reinhold, Robert, "A Terrible Chain of Events Reveals Los Angeles Without Its Makeup," *The New York Times*, May 3, 1992.

[12] Roberts, Steven V., Memo to Merrill McLoughlin, editor *U.S. News and World Report*, July 16, 1993.

[13] A July 3, 1989 editorial by the newspaper called for a constitutional amendment declaring, "There shall be open borders" — a position consistently reaffirmed on later anniversaries of independence.

[14] Ferguson, Tim W., "Enterprising Answers to California's Continuing Crisis?" *The Wall Street Journal*, May 18, 1993.

[15] *USA Today*, August 20, 1993.

[16] *The New York Times*, August 16, 1993.

[17] Glastris, Paul, "Immigration crackdown: Anxious Americans want new restrictions and tougher enforcement," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 21, 1993.

[18] The title of the August 9, 1993 *Newsweek* cover story on immigration was simply, "Immigration Backlash." A sampling of other headlines on the subject reveals consistent use of language ascribing negative connotations to calls for limiting immigration: "California Melting Pot Boils Over," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 6, 1993; "Harvest of Blame: Californians Turn on Illegal Immigrants," *The Washington Post*, June 4, 1993; "On These Shores, Immigrants Find a New Wave of Hostility," *The New York Times*, June 13, 1993; "Send Back Your Tired, Your Poor...," *Time*, June 21, 1993.

[19] Will, George F., "Closing the Golden Door," *The Washington Post*, July 29, 1993.

[20] Brinkley, David, "This Week With David Brinkley," ABC News, June 20, 1993.

[21] Trueheart, Charles, *The Washington Post*, September 18, 1992.

[22] Broder, John M., "Immigration Delicate Issue for Clinton," *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 1993.

[23] Choi, Daniel, "Border Lines," *The New Republic*, September 13, 1993.

[24] Alter, Jonathan, "Elitism and the Immigration Backlash," *Newsweek*, July 26, 1993.

The Borders Are Still There

At the present time global interdependence is celebrated as a self-evident good. The royal road to development, peace, and harmony is thought to be the unrelenting conquest of each nation's market by all other nations. The word "globalist" has politically correct connotations, while the word "nationalist" has come to be pejorative. This is so much the case that it is necessary to remind ourselves that the World Bank exists to serve the interests of its members, *which are nation states, national communities* — not individuals, not corporations, not even NGOs. It has no charter to serve the one-world without borders cosmopolitan vision of global integration — of converting many relatively independent national economies, loosely dependent on international trade, into one tightly integrated world economic network upon which the weakened nations depend for even basic survival.

— Herman E. Daly, "Farewell Lecture," January 14, 1994
on completing six years of service in the World Bank.
Professor Daly is not at the School of Public Affairs,
University of Maryland, College Park.

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Wayne C. Lutton, Ph.D., associate editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, *is a policy analyst and historian who has published widely on immigration concerns.*

Study Reveals the High Cost of Immigration to New York State

By Wayne Lutton

Legal and illegal immigration is costing New Yorkers a minimum of $5.6 billion annually, a new study confirms. *Our Teeming Shore: A Legislative Report on the Impact of U.S. Immigration Policy on New York State* was prepared under the direction of State Senator Frank Padavan (R-Queens), the chairman of the State Senate Committee on Cities.

The Padavan Report is the first time an attempt has been made to assess the cost of immigration to New York's taxpayers. The result of a year's research, including hearings held in New York City, the Committee on Cities focused on the fiscal impact of immigration in five policy areas: social services, criminal justice, education, housing, and employment and the economy. To arrive at an estimate of the cost of immigration, Senator Padavan calculated the spending on behalf of immigrants by using the percentage of foreign-born residents compared with total state funding for education, welfare, and prisons. He then subtracted from the total the amount the state receives in federal reimbursements. Senator Padavan emphasized that his estimates are very conservative because they do not take into account the fact that post-1965 immigrants constitute a disproportionate share of the state's welfare and criminal populations.

"...post-1965 immigrants constitute a disproportionate share of [NY] state's welfare and criminal populations."

New York state is home to 20 percent or more of the U.S.'s total immigrant population. Nearly 500,000 illegal immigrants are believed to be in the state — with some 400,000 or more living in the New York metropolitan area. One-third of New York City's population is foreign born, a higher percentage than during the great waves of immigration at the turn of the century.

Attracted by generous social welfare programs, which aliens are often actively encouraged to apply for, the state has become a destination of preference for newcomers to America. During the 1980s, eight percent of the population of Guyana moved to New York City. Countries with over half of their total U.S. illegal alien population residing in NY State include: Senegal (88.9%); St. Vincent (74.6%); Grenada (73.6%); Antigua (67.8%); Bangladesh (67%); Guyana (66.9%); Yemen (66.7%); Barbados (64.3%) Netherlands Antilles (60%); Malta (60%); Sri Lanka (57.4%); St. Lucia (55.9%); Red China (52.5%); Ecuador (50.8%); Trinidad & Tobago (50.4%); Dominican Republic (50.4%).

The major findings disclosed in the *Report* include the following:

Welfare: Estimated cost — $2.09 billion. A state Department of Social Services survey revealed that one of every three public assistance applicants in NY state is foreign born.

Crime: Estimated cost — $269.84 million. Twelve percent of the state's prison population is foreign-born. From 1985 to 1992, the number of foreign-born inmates climbed at more than twice the rate as U.S.-born citizens. And foreign-born inmates are more likely to be convicted of drug offenses and more serious offenses than inmates born in the United States. While foreign-born inmates come from 111 countries around the world, 29 percent of the total are from the Dominican Republic alone.

Education: Estimated cost — $3.27 billion. Immigrants make up 13.5 percent of NY City's public school population and the city Board of Education needs to spend over $1 billion to construct additional classrooms for immigrant students.

The Committee on Cities offered a list of

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twenty-one policy recommendations to deal with the problems associated with immigration, including measures to deport illegal aliens convicted of felonies; deportation of aliens who cannot justify their claim for political asylum; the repeal of laws prohibiting social welfare agencies from giving the names of aliens to the INS and other law enforcement agencies; endorsement of a moratorium on new immigration into the U.S. "until the scope of immigration's impact on our country is sufficiently understood," followed by a fixed, and sharply reduced, ceiling on total admissions.

In his introduction to the *Report*, Senator Padavan remarked,

> *American policy on immigration is in disarray...*
>
> *It seems inevitable that whenever America's policy on immigration is analyzed, the words of Emma Lazarus ring in the ear — "Give me your tired your poor; / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free...."*
>
> *These words, inscribed on the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, may today be an anthem to billions, but forgotten is the fact that they were chiseled into our national conscience before the first shot was fired at the Battle of Wounded Knee; before the Panama Canal was dug and before Thomas A. Edison invented the movies...*
>
> *The world has changed. America has changed. As New York State Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol noted, "the society that they encounter today is very different than that which absorbed the immigrants of decades past. The factories and farms that offered good jobs to people with strong backs and a willingness to work are largely a distant memory."*

Senator Padavan is to be commended for initiating this investigation. Failure to collect hard evidence has hindered efforts to reform immigration policy. Other states need to establish commissions to gather information regarding immigration-related issues. ■

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County Programs Assist Illegal Aliens in Settling in the U.S.

By Robert Denny

Hubert Humphrey once said, "just because we're liberals doesn't mean we have to be damn fools."

That legend should be carved over every government doorway in Montgomery County. Where our Department of Family Resources is concerned, it should be carved into the doors and desks.

On second thought, the next county executive should simply shut down the department and compress the other five social service departments and commissions into one, with far fewer bureaucrats.

As one insider said, DFR "is an agency in search of a mission." It has found a lot of silly ones in recent years, among them trying to match social service deliveries with master-plan road boundaries and spending taxpayer money on telling people how to grow flowers, manage stress, make "life decisions," and (I'm not kidding) encouraging people to talk more at the dinner table.

DFR's latest folly is aiding and abetting an illegal and probably criminal activity.

As *The Journal* reported last week, DFR has spent $299,000 to buy a house near Piney Branch Road and University Boulevard in Silver Spring (and plans to spend another $300,000 expanding it) to provide a center for jobless Hispanic immigrants.

One DFR employee, Walter Wolfe, even said proudly that "this corner is known in El Salvador" — which explains why so many immigrants are flocking here.

DFR has given a $60,000 contract to an outfit called CASA, which told *The Journal* that, while half or more of its "clients" are illegal aliens, "it's more important to get them a job." DFR also has hired a Hispanic to "work the corner."

I asked Charles Short, DFR's director, about all of this, and he said that DFR is simply making job "referrals" for aliens. I asked him how he could do this as it's a violation of federal law to employ illegal aliens. Isn't referring them to an employer aiding and abetting an illegal activity?

He said he didn't think so.

It would help if he read the law.

Under Section 274 of the U.S. Code, it's a criminal offense punishable by five years in prison to encourage an illegal alien to come to or reside in the United States, or to harbor him or her or to transport the alien in a vehicle. Any (county or private) vehicle so used can be confiscated without a warrant.

Under Section 274A, it's unlawful "for a person or their entity to hire, or to recruit, or refer for a fee, for employment in the United States" or to enter into a contract "to obtain the labor of an alien...."

Isn't paying someone else $60,000 to do it "referring for a fee?" Even if it skirts the law (others will decide that), isn't it a highly dubious thing for a public official to do?

It gets worse. Illegality is just the tip of a huge iceberg.

County Executive Neal Potter recently revealed that an estimated $3.5 million of taxpayer money is being spent each year on health services for illegal aliens.

The money is being spent in three health department divisions: communicable diseases (21 cases of AIDS, 20 dysentery, and 2,388 possible tuberculosis cases); family health (pregnant Hispanic women, family planning, child health, immunization); and school health services (5 percent of our students are assumed to be illegals).

Meantime, canny young married couples are moving into Frederick and other counties rather than Montgomery to avoid our taxes, and many of our deeply rooted 110,000 seniors whose incomes are $15,000 under the county household median and whose earnings from modest investments are falling are wondering where to move.

The problem isn't simply local.

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As *TIME* Magazine reported recently, the arrival of illegal immigrants makes Americans "almost unanimously furious." The "undocumented" influx is estimated at more than 300,000 a year, nearly 5 million in the past 10 years.

Only 200 immigrants claimed political asylum in 1975. Suddenly, *TIME* says, "asylum is the plea of choice in the United States around the world, often as a cover for illegal economic migration." Almost anyone who declares that he or she is fleeing political oppression can enter the United States, agree to appear for a hearing, then disappear.

"A recent national poll found that 73 percent of Americans believe we should 'strictly limit immigration,' and 80 percent say it's important to track down the illegals."

The Chinese get in by claiming their government limits the number of children they can have. Haitians have been admitted, though all a politically oppressed Haitian needs to do is turn around and walk across the hill into the Dominican Republic (look at a map).

Large numbers of Salvadorans have been allowed to stay for another year under a "deferred enforced departure" program, not because of real or imagined "death squads," but because the Salvadoran government has asked us to support them a while longer. Once immigrants obtain residence, they can send for their families. Some 3.5 million are now in line to come in.

A recent national poll found that 73 percent of Americans believe we should "strictly limit immigration," and 80 percent say it's important to track down the illegals.

France and Germany have declared "zero" immigration, and Britain is moving toward the same goal. Ironically, a national study found that most U.S. Hispanics agree.

A half-dozen bills have been introduced in Congress to remedy the problem. One, by Senator Harry Reid, D-Nevada, would establish an annual limit of 300,000, including relatives, and require an identification card.

Meantime, our Immigration and Naturalization Service is so underfunded, says Tom Perryman, supervisory special agent in Baltimore, that even criminal aliens sometimes have to be released because INS lacks detention space.

Further, present law is a Catch-22. When you arrest an illegal, you have to set up a deportation proceeding. Because of the backlog of cases there's a delay, and nowhere to hold the alien. You have to give him a work permit to support himself while he waits, but then he takes the permit and disappears.

Perryman says INS urgently needs detention space. Any suggestions?

Meantime, let's tell our county government to stop encouraging illegal immigration.■

Ironic Twist

Some illegal immigrants are returning to Mexico and Central America because they see the quality of life in California diminishing, reported the *San Francisco Examiner*. Many of those returning home say they are either unable to find work or are fed up with crime, poor schools, and urban congestion, the newspaper said.

— from the newsletter of CAPS (Californians for Population Stabilization)

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The High Cost of Immigration to Florida

The Governor's Office of Planning & Budgeting prepared a study estimating how much Florida's state and local governments spend to provide critical services to immigrants, both legal and illegal. The findings, released in March, are included in a report entitled, *The Unfair Burden: Immigration's Impact on Florida.*

The majority of immigrants entering Florida come from five countries: Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Columbia, and Canada. It is very difficult to calculate the total cost of immigration, since most service providers do not ask the nationality or legal status of recipients. The 1990 Multicultural Education Training Advocacy agreement (META) signed by the Florida Department of Education and the State Board of Education, essentially prevents local districts from determining the immigration status of students. Similar legal decisions and agreements apply in the areas of health, welfare, and criminal justice.

Florida Attorney General Robert Butterworth has filed suit against the federal government on behalf of the state. As Gov. Lawton Chiles remarked, "the federal government must change either its immigration policies or its funding priorities and remove this unfair burden from the backs of Floridians."

Governor Chiles's report to the Florida legislature included the chart below which delineates costs of three and a quarter billion dollars over five years.

Estimated Fiscal Impact of Immigration (Documented and Undocumented, Florida Only)

Fiscal Years 1989-1993

DEPARTMENT	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	TOTAL
EDUCATION (State and Local)	$342,212,300	$429,382,400	$430,554,720	$418,515,240	$517,630,598	$2,138,275,258
AGENCY for HEALTH CARE ADMINISTRATION[1]	$20,100,000	$16,900,000	$11,700,000	$9,900,000	$11,700,000	$70,300,000
HEALTH & REHABILITATION SERVICES	$10,344,889	$11,215,389	$15,753.035	$19,509,993	$26,681,956	$83,505,242
CORRECTIONS	$29,100,000	$32,700,000	$38,900,000	$39,700,000	$44,000,000	$184,400,000
JUDICIAL	$24,320,439	$26,608,327	$29,013,202	$29,264,001	$28,586,970	$137,792,939
LAW ENFORCEMENT	$6,538,322	$8,439,447	$7,258,786	$6,919,742	$6,680,787	$33,833,064
PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE[2]	$117,844,500	$99,057,600	$144,201,700	$129,893,400	$115,878,600	$806,875,800
TOTAL	$550,458,450	$622,283,143	$677,379,442	$653,702,376	$751,158,891	**$3,254,982,303**

[1] The Medicaid program was administratively housed in the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services until fiscal year 1994.

[2] Includes Education, Corrections, and Transportation public infrastructure.

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Following up on THE SOCIAL CONTRACT*'s interest in trade issues, we reprint with permission this article from* The Washington Times *of December 6, 1993.*

Bestseller Gores GATT

By Arnaud de Borchgrave

PARIS — A new GATT agreement will light the fuse to social upheaval and political instability compared to which the Bolshevik Revolution will pale into insignificance, says retired entrepreneur and financier Sir James Goldsmith.

The Franco-British billionaire has become the spokesman for a grass-roots campaign against the free-trade movement in France and Britain. His book *Le Piege (The Seller Trap)* shot to the top of French best-seller lists over the past 10 weeks, and Sir James has become a fixture on TV talk shows on both sides of the channel.

The treaty nearing completion in the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) "will destroy your job and make you poor," is one of the book's principal arguments.

With some 20 million unemployed in Western Europe, Sir James says, "The critical mass is here for implosion and social upheaval — political instability on a global scale is around the corner. Next to what we see on the radar screen, 1917 is just a blip."

In an interview with *The Washington Times*, Sir James added: "Global free trade will force the poor of the rich countries to subsidize the rich in the poor countries."

Sir James approves of the recently ratified North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and favors a gradual integration of Eastern Europe's economies into the European Economic Community — which he refuses to call either the European Community (EC) or its latest name, the European Union (EU). But he said he is "astonished" that "the suicide machine called GATT" has been a non-issue in the United States. Sir James' main concern is the loss of millions of jobs to the Third World.

"Volkswagen's decision [last month] to move to a four-day work week for 10 percent less pay is a manifestation of decadence and degeneracy," he said. Work-sharing, he added, is "folly."

Nevertheless, that is one solution being proposed by the European Commission in Brussels as a tool to reduce unemployment, which soon will average 12 percent in the 12 EU countries.

"These supranationalists are suffering from tunnel vision," Sir James contended. He also said the "Eurocrats" in Brussels "have gone mad" by proposing three months' parental leave for both mother and father, dismissing the idea as "absurd ideological crap." Sir James said he favors a "Europe of nations" and a NAFTA-type common market for Europe — "from the Atlantic to the Urals eventually" as the late French President Charles De Gaulle once advocated.

But he said he is fighting "the abomination of the Maastricht Treaty for a single Europe with a common currency," which is being phased in over several years.

"The Uruguay Round," Sir James said, "will indeed create millions of new jobs — in the Third World, at the expense of developed countries. To argue that GATT is the key to world economic revival is hyperbole or ignorance."

"Even organizations that favor GATT concede world trade will only expand $213 billion over 10 years — assuming this guesstimate is correct — which is only 0.7 percent of world GNP. The downside is social upheaval on a global scale.

"What GATT means is that our national wealth, accumulated over centuries, will be transferred from a developed country like Britain, which has now shrunk its navy to its smallest size in centuries, to developing countries like China, now building its first oceangoing navy in 500 years," Sir James argued.

"Since the collapse of communism in 1989," he continued, "a large number of heavily populated developing countries have entered the global trading system. China, with its 1.2 billion people, the three Indochinese states with 90 million, India with 900 million, the former Soviet republics with some 300 million, and many more ... can supply skilled labor for a fraction of Western costs. Five dollars in China is the equivalent of a $100 wage in Europe.

"The export of a single microchip plus some

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capital can relocate a European manufacturing facility and put thousands out of work. None of this really mattered when these [Third World] countries did not have access to technology and capital. Now it's a matter of life and death for the industrialized countries."

Sir James and like-minded entrepreneurs in Europe believe European firms under the new GATT rules will either close down or transfer production to low-cost Third World countries. "Companies will show a profit, but the ranks of Western unemployed will keep growing," Goldsmith said. "It is quite amazing that GATT is sowing the seeds for global social upheaval and that it is not even the subject of debate in America.

"We have to rethink from top to bottom why we have elevated global free trade to the status of sacred cow or moral dogma. It is a fatally flawed concept...."

"NAFTA, which merely seeks to accommodate Mexico much the way Europe's economic community accommodated Greece, Spain and Portugal, caused a furious debate where no debate was really necessary. If the masses understood the truth about GATT, there would be blood in the streets of many capitals."

Another GATT time bomb, Sir James said, will be "the wholesale destruction of agrarian communities in the Third World with millions of peasants displaced by intensive modern farming methods and then jammed into megaslums."

"What communist governments did to the peasant classes wherever they imposed their totalitarian rule, laissez-faire capitalist governments will complete, " he said.

"Worse yet, structural unemployment can only increase as workers from developed countries compete unsuccessfully with the low wages of the newly industrialized countries.

"Seimens, the German electronic giant — just to cite one example among scores — announced it will soon employ more workers outside Europe than in Europe. This trend is accelerating, and if you understand what's happening, you shouldn't be surprised to see former communists and neo-fascists crush middle-of-the-roaders."

Sir James urged the United States to "take seriously the threat of growth for the sake of growth — which translates into unemployment, crime epidemics, the drug plague and social collapse."

"Let's also reject specialization," he said. "We all need diversified economies, not a division of labor among nations. We need artisans, small and medium businesses which cover the whole gamut of human endeavor. Local development, not urban concentrations. Regionalizations, not globalization."

"We shouldn't be afraid to say no to GATT and protect Europe. Access to our market should be guided by Europe's interest, both economic and social."

Asked whether service industries could provide balance and compensation for developed countries, Sir James replied: "They can provide some jobs, of course. But here, too, robotics and computers carry much of the load."

"A healthy national economy has to produce a large part of its own needs. It cannot simply import what it needs and use its labor force to provide services for other countries."

"Nonregulated trade will simply mean that our hard-earned standard of living and wages would be leveled down to a world average ... Don't forget that the 12 EC countries will only be 4.5 percent of the world population 30 years hence."

His conclusion: "We have to rethink from top to bottom why we have elevated global free trade to the status of sacred cow, or moral dogma. It is a fatally flawed concept that will impoverish and destabilize the industrialized world while cruelly ravaging the Third World."

As a clincher, Sir James quoted from a World Bank report published in September:

"If by wise policy, or blind luck, a country has managed to control its population growth, provide social insurance, high wages, reasonable working hours and other benefits to its working class (i.e., most of its citizens)," the report asked, "should it allow these benefits to be 'competed down' to the world average of unregulated trade?"

"...This leveling of wages will be overwhelmingly downward due to the vast number and rapid growth rates of underemployed populations in the Third World." ■

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Why Not a National ID Card?

By Robert Kuttner

When White House officials disclosed a plan to create a national health insurance card two weeks ago, there was the usual squawking by some civil libertarians and immigrant-rights advocates.

Administration health planners say the card will allow more efficient processing of health claims, as well as the creation of a more comprehensive health database. The plan, however, prompted concerns by immigrant-rights groups that the health card could be used as a device to screen out aliens. It elicited anxiety by the American Civil Liberties Union that the health card might become a backdoor national ID card.

As a journalist I am of course devoted to the First Amendment. But in this case the fears of the civil libertarians are misplaced.

The idea that any of us is sheltered from countless national databases or ID cards has long since been overtaken by technology. If anything, there is far more abuse of private databases than of government ones.

Just look in your wallet. Your Social Security card number, which once (but no longer) pretended that it could not be used "for purposes of identification," is likely to be your driver's license number as well as your IRS identifier. If you have a Visa or MasterCard, merchants can obtain profiles of your shopping habits. If you have health insurance, personal information is collected in private medical bureau databases, from which it can be bought and sold among insurance companies.

In 1992, a reporter for *Business Week* set out to expose the laxity of credit bureaus. He truthfully told a major credit bureau that he was an employee of McGraw-Hill (*Business Week*'s parent company). This affiliation implied a legitimate business purpose and enabled him to obtain a password that gave him access to the confidential credit histories of millions of Americans, including that of then Vice President Dan Quayle.

So Americans are already vulnerable to massive invasions of their privacy, courtesy of computerized databases and ID cards. The real challenge is to regulate the abuse of ID cards and information banks, not to somehow ban them.

The paradox of our national phobia against ID cards is that we already have most of the liabilities, while denying ourselves potential benefits, of computerized record-keeping.

For example, a universal health card would not just simplify billing; it also would allow research into epidemiology, the correlation of cancers with environmental risks, the tracking of whether all children are vaccinated and a host of other social benefits.

By the same token, the fears of immigrant groups are misplaced. Whether you favor liberal immigration or strict quotas, some limits and criteria always will be imposed on who may legally enter the country.

"The paradox of our national phobia against ID cards is that we already have most of the liabilities, while denying ourselves potential benefits, of computerized record-keeping."

Unless we have totally open borders, some device is necessary to differentiate citizens and legal foreign visitors from illegally resident (or "undocumented") aliens. The paradox is that the more we resist some uniform ID card, the more foreigners whose documents are not in order are likely to be harassed by immigration officials. Let's decide who is legally here and who isn't — and then keep track.

Although an "internal passport" is associated with totalitarian societies, wouldn't it also be nice for law-abiding citizens if there were reliable records of who was eligible to vote (no more need for voter

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registration), whose medical license had been withdrawn by another state for malpractice, who was ineligible to drive or to buy a gun?

Americans, whose first national motto was "Don't Tread on Me," have been conditioned to equate a "national ID card" (gasp!) with an incipient police state. You would think that we never had experienced driver's licenses, tax returns, Medicare cards, voter rolls, the Selective Service, the decennial census or demographically targeted junk mail.

We assume we are shielded from abuse because these records are haphazard. But in the checkered history of liberty in our country, there have been plenty of witch hunts, enemy lists, red scares and the like, long before computerized databases or ID cards. Sen. Joe McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover and the House Committee on Un-American activities did their dirty work without national ID cards or databases.

The issue is not whether these information banks and ID cards are eliminated — they are unfortunately part of modern society — but how best to regulate their abuse. If anything, we need much tighter controls on the ability of private business to buy and sell data collected for one purpose and then used for another. We need higher walls between government agencies, lest the IRS and CIA peek at individual census or health records, and lest off-duty cops illicitly sell data from the uniform crime reports to private eyes. We need stricter penalties for misuse.

The penchant of Americans to become fixated on the wrong grievance is nothing short of astonishing. Surely the greater national disgrace and greater denial of liberty is the fact that tens of millions of Americans risk financial ruin if they become sick. ■

Separate Science from Politics

If the critical job of stopping U.S. population growth is to be accomplished, something must be done about immigration. Improving conditions in poor countries is certainly one of the most important steps toward accomplishing that. There can also be little doubt that many immigrants become successful and quickly adopt U.S. lifestyles, thus increasing the pressure that this country and other rich nations contribute to deforestation and general environmental destruction in poor countries.

The United States must develop a population policy leading toward shrinkage, and that means the number of births plus immigrants must be slightly below the number of deaths plus emigrants. Basically, for every immigrant admitted, a birth must be foregone. How the mix of births and immigrants is achieved is not a scientific issue, but obe to be decided by democratic choice.

Immigration is a very complex and ethically difficult issue. I agree that not all environemntal groups should become involved with immigration. But I believe that every environemntal group does have an obligation to make the obvious need to reduce U.S. population size, lower our levels of wasteful consumption, and develop more efficient, environemntally benign technologies part of its policy stance. And part of that stance should be to point out the necessary trade-off between briths and immigrants.

— Paul Ehrlich responding to questions from *Audobon Activist* magazine, Nov. 1993. Dr. Ehrlich is the author of *The Population Bomb* (1968) and *The Population Explosion* (1990).

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The Campaign Against English

By Gary Turbak

On July 2 last year, 76 Hispanic immigrants gathered in Tucson, Arizona city council chambers to become naturalized Americans. Although the brief citizenship oaths and naturalization documents were in English, most of the ceremony took place in Spanish — including the pledge of allegiance, a message from U.S. District Judge Alfredo Marquez and a welcome from the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In essence, these immigrants received their U.S. citizenship in Spanish, the first ever to do so.

"This is multiculturalism run amok," says George Tryfiates, executive director of the English First advocacy group, and the son of Greek immigrants. "Will the Immigration and Naturalization Service now conduct ceremonies in Farsi, Serbo-Croatian and Laotian, too?"

The Tucson incident is but one shot in an ongoing fight over the primacy of English in this country. In schools, government offices, voting booths and scores of other places, English in America is rapidly giving ground to other tongues. Inexorably, foreign languages find new ways to replace the mother tongue that gave us the Constitution, Declaration of Independence and [the] Gettysburg Address.

English has long been the glue holding multicultural America together, but now that unity is threatened. Daily, the battle to keep English as America's language becomes more heated.

"America is fast becoming a society divided by language." says Representative Toby Roth of Wisconsin, chief sponsor of a bill to make English the official language of the United States. Although 14 other nations — from India to Uganda to Vanuatu — have declared English their official language, the United States has never done so.

Naturally, some Americans who speak other languages see things differently. They believe the American government should speak in a multitude of tongues. To their ears, the mingling of languages creates a symphony, not a cacophony. America, they say, is not a homogeneous melting pot, but rather a salad bowl, where each ingredient should retain its distinctive qualities.

"Ethnic communities and their languages and cultures add something unique and very positive to the flavor of the United States," says Steven Carbo, spokesman for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF). "We should promote multilingual policies, not English-only policies."

The United States has always been a land of immigrants. Most learned English in a "sink-or-swim" acceptance of their new home's mother tongue. That attitude still prevails, but many modern newcomers — or at least some of their vocal leaders — believe America should adapt to them instead of the other way around.

This may explain why there are growing numbers of foreign-speaking families in the United States. According to the 1990 census, the number of people living in America who speak a language other than English in their homes jumped more than a third during the 1980s — to nearly 32 million, or one out of eight U.S. residents. America is home to at least 150 different tongues.

The erosion of English is most apparent in America's public schools since the 1960s, when the federal Bilingual Education Act directed millions of children to be taught in other languages — mostly Spanish.

Theoretically, children with limited English proficiency (LEP) will be better students if they study science, math and other subjects in their native languages while learning English on the side. After a year or two, they are supposed to switch to an all-English curriculum.

The only problem with bilingual education is that it is generally considered a failure. The program "is a flop at what we have asked it to do — teach students English," say Congressman Roth.

LEP students often remain in native language classes for several years, and some never do learn

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English. According to the English First organization, it's possible for a teenager to graduate from a public high school in New York City without ever gaining English fluency.

Before the bilingual program started, half of all Hispanic students dropped out of high school. Today, after 25 years of bilingual education, a report by the American Council on Education says the Hispanic dropout rate is still 50 percent — a rate much higher than for either whites or blacks. Recently, *The Boston Globe* reported that the Hispanic dropout rate in that city is actually higher for students in the bilingual program than for those who don't participate in it.

In California, a 1993 report by the Little Hoover Commission called bilingual education "divisive, wasteful, and unproductive." The commission said the number of non-English speaking students in the state today has doubled to more than a million since 1987. However, the commission said the bilingual program annually turns out the same number of fluent English speakers — 60,000 — as it did a decade ago.

Christine Rossell, professor of political science at Boston University, has evaluated 79 different studies of bilingual education's effectiveness. None of these, she says, found bilingual education to be any better than the sink-or-swim method of immersing children in English.

According to the LEAD (Learning English Advocates Drive) organization, some schools even put children into bilingual classrooms solely on the basis of their Hispanic- or Asian-sounding last names — regardless of the youngsters' English skills. One Hispanic mother in Glenwood, California, made five trips to her school before she got her English-speaking daughter out of a class taught in Spanish.

The program even angers parents it is supposed to please. In the book, *Straight Shooting*, by Boston University President John Silber, Texas ranch foreman Ernesto Ortiz expresses his dismay: "My children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters," he says. "I teach them English at home so they can grow up and be doctors and lawyers."

In one Florida poll, 98 percent of Hispanic parents thought it was important for their children to read and write English "perfectly." In another, Hispanic parents rated 70 items of importance to their children's education. Teaching them English ranked third, and teaching Spanish ranked 67th.

Critics say bilingual education continues only because it enjoys an entrenched constituency of bureaucrats, administrators, teachers, ethnic activists and other adults who benefit from it. The program provides jobs for bilingual teachers, and each enrolled child nets the school about $400 in federal funds. Nationally, bilingual education costs taxpayers an estimated $1.5 billion annually.

"I call it bilingualgate," says Sally Peterson, a long-time California teacher who is the president of LEAD.

English is in retreat on other fronts, too. A federal law requires election ballots and other voter information to be printed in languages spoken either by 10,000 people or by 5 percent of the population in a voting jurisdiction.

Currently, 375 jurisdictions in 21 states run elections in English and at least one other language. Voting materials in San Francisco are available in seven languages. In Los Angeles, the $6 million cost of the 1993 city election included $900,000 — 15 percent of the total — for printing multilingual materials. When Long Beach, California spent $6,200 preparing bilingual voting materials for four ballot measures, officials received only 22 requests for the publications — a cost of $281 per non-English voter.

Federal statutes also require government-funded document translations and courtroom interpreters for non English-speaking defendants in criminal trials. Some jurisdictions extend this service to civil cases.

Hawaii and New Mexico have even granted official status to Hawaiian and Spanish. Although unenforced, New Mexico has a constitutional requirement that all the state's teachers be fluent in Spanish and English.

Nearly 40 states give written and sometimes behind-the-wheel driver's license exams in languages other than English. Michigan offers its written test in 20 tongues, including Arabic, Finnish and Portuguese and, if necessary, will provide an interpreter for the actual driving exam. Its road signs, of course, are not written in 20 different languages.

Nationally, the GED high school equivalency test is available in English, Spanish, and French, and plans are underway to add more languages. Some American colleges also conduct classes for non-English speakers.

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California state agencies must accommodate speakers of other languages — even by hiring bilingual employees, if necessary. Depending on the linguistic preferences of local populations, printed information about food stamps, workers' compensation, taxes and other subjects in California must be available in English, Spanish, Vietnamese and other tongues.

In 1988, Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis even delivered part of his acceptance speech in Spanish.

Although most Americans probably don't care what language people speak in their homes and other private places, it is difficult not to notice the changing tenor of the marketplace. Everything from Burger King menus to the phone book Yellow Pages have been printed in languages other than English, and many retailers advertise in their primary tongue.

In Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Colorado, California and several other states, radio and television stations broadcast primarily or exclusively in Polish, Greek, German, American Indian, Portuguese and other languages. There are nearly 350 Spanish radio stations in this country. The Los Angeles Dodgers broadcast their games in Spanish, Korean, Chinese and — yes — English.

In the workplace, more and more employees are demanding the right to speak — and be spoken to — in their native tongues. Last year, the Nebraska legislature considered a bill to require every employer with four or more non-English-speaking workers to provide a translator. The bill was tabled.

Jose Fabilia, the son of Mexican immigrants, disagrees with this approach. His California food company employs 103 people. "You don't have to speak English to work for me," he says. "But if you want to be a salesman, front office worker, route supervisor or a driver on our best routes, you have to know English. If I did not speak English, my business would not be as prosperous as it is."

If there is an epicenter to the language earthquake, it is Miami and Dade County, Florida, where more than half the people consider Spanish their first language.

In 1973, the area's governing body — the Metro Commission — ruled that Dade County would henceforth be bilingual and bicultural. Translators annually turned thousands of pages of English public documents in Spanish and vice versa. Interpreters' voices echoed at meetings and conferences. Radio stations even aired Spanish public service announcements — prepared at taxpayer expense — encouraging better use of Spanish by Miamians.

In 1980, Emmy Shafer, an immigrant and survivor of a Nazi concentration camp, became upset with Miami's extensive use of Spanish. She organized a drive to reinstate English as the only official language, and Dade County voters approved the measure with a 59 percent majority.

But that's not the end of the story. In May 1993, a Hispanic-dominated Metro Commission threw out the 1980 English-only ordinance, returning Dade county to bilingualism. One commissioner has even proposed that many government services be provided in up to six additional languages.

The increasing use of other tongues has triggered a substantial backlash among Americans who think English should be *the* language of the United States. Various polls indicate that more than three-fourths of all Americans believe English should be the official language of government and anyone who wants to live in this country should learn English.

Eighteen states have made English their official language, and 20 others have considered similar measures. In 1987, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton signed into law a statute making English the state's official language. In most cases, however, these designations are largely ceremonial, since official English laws often lack enforcement teeth, and bureaucrats seem universally reluctant to implement English-only policies.

H.R. 739, a bill currently under consideration in Congress, would make English the nation's official language. In addition to requiring that all business of the federal government be conducted in English, the measure would repeal statutes that mandate bilingual education and multilingual ballots. A House-Senate proposal, H.J. Res. 171, would amend the Constitution to make English America's official language.

English proponents hope that Congress will at long last heed the advice of President Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote in 1917, "We have but one flag. We must also have but one language, and that language is English." ■

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Richard D. Lamm served from 1975 to 1987 as governor of Colorado. Currently he directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver. This article is reproduced, with permission, from the July-August 1993 issue of The Futurist, *published by the World Future Society, 7910 Woodmont Avenue, Suite 450, Bethesda, MD, 20814, (301) 656-8274.*

Indicators of Decline

By Richard D. Lamm

It's not so much being able to forecast change as to recognize it as it occurs.
— Anonymous

Societies, like economies, have "leading indicators" that give great insight into the future. While these are never infallible predictors, they are almost always helpful in judging direction. They are not always right, but they are usually close. They do not predict, but they forecast. They may be wrong, but we ignore them at our peril. These leading indicators are the status of a nation's human resources, values, political system, social systems, and economic competitiveness.

It is my thesis that America's leading indicators have turned negative and are flashing warning signs. America is heading for multiple crises and relative decline. I set forth this case knowing that the world is a complex place and that history is fond of playing tricks on all civilizations — particularly great civilizations. Every great nation had false prophets of doom. Yet, no great nation in history has survived the ravages of time. All great civilizations believed their greatness to be permanent. In Spain, God was on the side of the King and would never let Spain decline because it was specially blessed. England knew that Britain would forever rule the waves and that "the sun would never set on the British Empire." But history teaches us that nations rise and nations fall.

Where is America in this cycle? We judge at our peril. The optimists have so far prevailed. True, America has many tangible strengths, but a nation's wealth and status are like starlight: what you see is not what is, but what was. Just as the light we see from a distant star started its journey thousands of years ago, so is the nation's current success due principally to past actions. Great nations have great momentum; past investments in education and productivity continue to give benefits even after those good traits deteriorate. To a large degree, one generation benefits from the seeds planted by its fathers and mothers. We, in turn, plant seeds that will be reaped by our children. They reap what we sow.

There are always forces of decline and forces of renewal at work within societies, and it is difficult to know which are in the ascendancy. I clearly recognize that my theory may be wrong. Schopenhauer warns us that "every man confuses the limits of his mind for the limits of the world." That said, I believe our current problems and trends are nation-threatening and perhaps irreversible. I believe they likely will lead to a decline in power, prestige, and our standard of living. Most likely, this will lead to social and political turmoil.

"Decline, like fog, creeps up on civilizations on little cat feet, and America's decline began in the recent past. Tomorrow's futurist will wonder how we were so myopic."

My argument is that the chances (70-30) are that America has entered into a cycle of decline. It is not irreversible, but, to some degree, it is inevitable. Our kids will live in a far different and more chaotic America — an America that doesn't have nearly the wealth or the opportunities that our generation had. Decline, like fog, creeps up on civilizations on little cat's feet, and America's decline began in the recent past. Tomorrow's futurist will wonder how we were so myopic.

In my mind, we have seriously compromised

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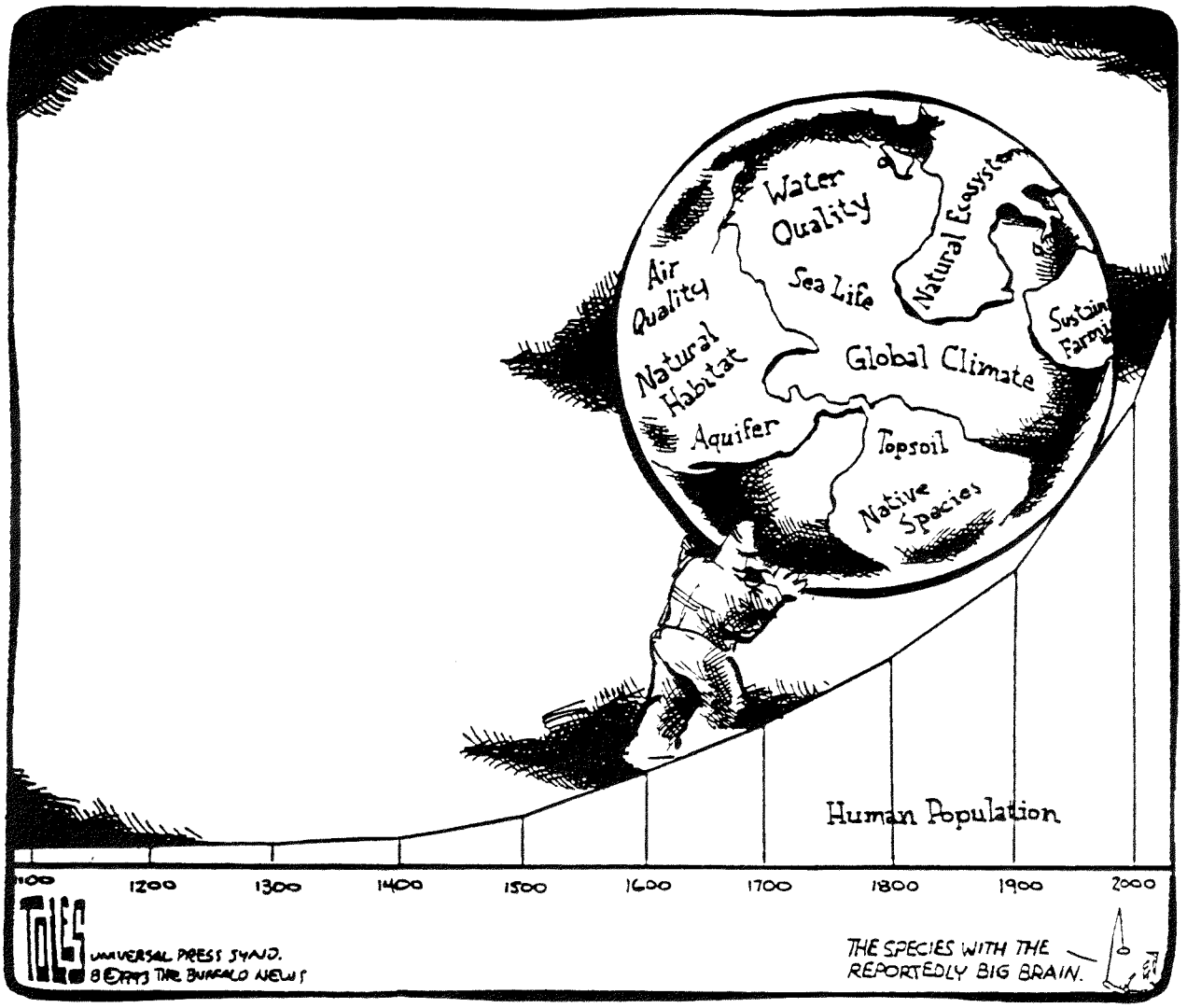
our future. We have overconsumed and under-invested. We have not adequately maintained our wealth-creating potential. A society that spends more government money than it raises in taxes, that consumes more than it produces, that borrows more than it saves, that imports more than it exports is a society on its way to second-class status.

A nation whose students are at the bottom of all international comparisons in education, whose cities are battlefields, which has a disproportionate number of functional illiterates and the world's highest crime rate should beware of chauvinistic reassurances. We face nation-threatening problems that are getting, not better, but worse.

There is a story about a sailor on the *Titanic*, just before it sailed on its fatal voyage, telling a newspaper reporter that "God Almighty couldn't sink this ship." We may find a way to solve our problems and go on to a brighter future, but we are fighting history. Every once-great nation in history thought itself immune from decline, and, up to now, none of them has been right. ■



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Gustav Uhlich of Petoskey, Michigan is a retired physician with a keen interest in philosophy and behavioral psychology.

New Thinking About Ethnic Strife

A Book Review by Gustav A. Uhlich

FEAR OF STRANGERS — AND
ITS CONSEQUENCES
By David Allen
Garnerville, NY: Bennington Books
224 pp., $13.50 paper

It is refreshing to come across an author who confronts the reader with a summary of his thesis on page one. David Allen focuses our attention on three disturbing questions:

1. Why do we live in a world full of ethnic strife in spite of intensive educational, moralistic and legislative efforts to bring about a more civilized living arrangement in the United States and worldwide?

2. Could it be that our sincere and well meaning efforts are futile because we have missed the correct diagnosis, the real cause for persistent ethnic and racial discrimination?

3. Is it possible to discover a common denominator for a multi-faceted problem with the hope of eventually devising more successful social engineering strategies?

Allen's answer is unequivocal: ethnic strife is a perpetual problem because we fail to appreciate one crucial causative element: an innate fear of strangers. Part one of the book, under the heading of "The Stranger Outside," reviews ethological data in support of Allen's hypothesis. There is ample evidence of hostile behavior by established groups of animals towards intruders of the same species from outside the group. From ants to monkeys, from cockroaches to apes, strangers are rejected, or occasionally admitted under strictly enforced conditions. But is it really the fear of strangers per se that explains such uniform behavior? Do ants really experience fear — an emotional reaction dependent on brain structures found only in animals several steps up on the evolutionary ladder (Paul MacLean: *The Triune Brain*)? Why do hordes of tourists descending on foreign shores elicit a generally friendly rather than hostile response? How does "fear of strangers" explain unprovoked forays into foreign territory characteristic of chimps and humans (p.63)? We may have to look further and settle for more basic instinctual drives such as aggression in the service of self preservation (Konrad Lorenz) or a basic "Territorial Imperative" (Robert Ardrey) to arrive at a unifying theory of ethnic strife. Allen readily concedes that further study of the question may modify his central thesis.

"Rapidly mounting population pressures, ethnic 'scrambling' within multicultural societies and rigid adherence to abstract political doctrine are exposed as aggravating factors in the sad state of ethnic and racial affairs the world over."

Part 2 of the book, under the heading of "The Stranger Inside," examines the situation of modern Homo sapiens, caged in by the rigid borders of the nation state with no open spaces offering the comfort of voluntary exile for minority groups. Rapidly mounting population pressures, ethnic "scrambling" within multicultural societies, and rigid adherence to abstract political doctrine are exposed as aggravating factors in the sad state of ethnic and racial affairs the world over. Examples of recent ethnic cleansing, rape and outright genocide on the Indian subcontinent, in Japan, in Polynesia, in Africa and in the Near East bring into proper perspective the fate of American Indians, African Americans and European Jews: "All in all, minorities suffering discrimination in one place practice discrimination in other places as majorities, once again proving that hostility to strangers produces the same behavior pattern everywhere regardless of culture or ethnic uniqueness."

Allen introduces some useful terms such as "identity crisis", "swamping", "critical mass" and

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"flash points" into the vocabulary of ethnic confrontation. In the final chapter of the book some preliminary suggestions toward a more peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups are advanced: graceful acceptance of some inevitable, non-violent rejection; separation as a freely chosen option; reassertion of the seniority principle (right of first occupancy); rejection of highly abstract political doctrine; and efforts toward integration of ethnic groups rather than of individuals. Allen does not mince words when it comes to the myth of the melting pot: "The basic reason why ethnic groups in the U.S. are refused legal recognition is that they are supposed to be transient and temporary, doomed to extinction by assimilation and integration, which means that everyone is to be homogenized. This is Utopian hogwash, perpetuated by the simple failure to ask the people who are supposed to be assimilated whether they want to be (p. 179)." Allen is equally outspoken on the immigration issue: "Why nations insist on accepting immigrants who are not culturally compatible and create generations of strife and stress is a tribute to the power of ideological indoctrination over sense (p.197)."

It will, no doubt, take some time for any theory based on innate human behavior to find general acceptance. The danger of the naturalistic fallacy still looms large on the horizon of our collective past. "Because it is that way we shall keep it that way" was the excuse used by Social Darwinism during the early phases of the industrial revolution. Today we should know better and strive to find sensible solutions to pressing social problems.

The merit of Allen's book lies not so much in its postulating an innate fear of strangers as the mainspring of ethnic strife, but rather in its demonstrating convincingly that under certain circumstances ethnic communities all over the world will assert their will toward self preservation in a predictable way. Some 120 years after the publication of Darwin's *The Descent of Man*, it should come as no surprise that much of human behavior is based on 3 million years of gradual evolution. It cannot be changed abruptly at the whim of political ideology or moralistic exhortation. A better understanding of human nature should permit us to devise social engineering strategies aimed at bypassing situations that invariably activate the most brutal and reckless impulses in the mosaic of human potential. Allen's book points us in the right direction. In 200 pages it provides a wealth of pertinent information and a bag full of provocative suggestions. It recommends itself to the reader who subscribes to the sentiment so succinctly expressed by Wallace Stevens: "The real is only the base, but it is the base." ■

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Mark Wegierski, a previous contributor, is a Toronto-based writer, historian and permanent associate of the Canadian-Polish Research Institute.

Misreading the World Situation

Book Reviews by Mark Wegierski

BLOOD AND BELONGING:
JOURNEYS INTO THE NEW NATIONALISM
By Michael Ignatieff
New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
201 pages, $21.00

THE WRATH OF NATIONS: CIVILIZATION AND THE FURIES OF NATIONALISM
By William Pfaff
New York: Simon & Schuster
257 pages, $22.00

Michael Ignatieff, a Canadian of distant Russian origin, is an accomplished academic and author. His family memoir, *The Russian Album*, won him the Governor-General's Award, Canada's highest literary honor. The son of a prominent Canadian diplomat, growing up in many lands, he acknowledges his status as a "cosmopolitan", which one supposes is quite appropriate for a Canada that has today largely renounced its own national and cultural identity.

The book consists of an introduction, "The Last Refuge," followed by "Six Journeys": "Croatia & Serbia"; "Germany"; "Ukraine"; "Quebec"; "Kurdistan"; and "Northern Ireland". This is followed by extremely brief "Further Reading" suggestions, "Picture Credits" (there are a number of photographs in the book), "Acknowledgements", and an "Index" (pp. 195-201).

The central distinction Ignatieff makes in the book is between civic and ethnic nationalism:

...civic nationalism, maintains that the nation should be composed of all those — regardless of race, color, creed, gender, language, or ethnicity — who subscribe to the nation's political creed ... it envisages the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values. ...Ethnic nationalism claims ... that an individual's deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen. It is the national community which defines the individual, not the individuals who define the national community (pp. 3-5).

The primary historical examples he cites of the civic nation are Britain (with its attachment to Crown, Parliament, and the rule of law — which, as an historically homogenous population-pattern, and the single phrase "ancient rights of Englishmen" indicate, was hardly as un-ethnic as Ignatieff implies), Revolutionary France, and the United States. Ignatieff's definition of "the civic nation" not only repudiates the necessity of a shared homogeneity and long common history for defining a nation, it also imposes on it the necessity for adhering to liberal values as the very definition of its nationhood. In a time of European demographic collapse (birth-rates far below replacement rate, and a rapidly aging population), a Third World population explosion, and of cross-planetary mass migrations (a clearly different situation from earlier historical periods), the embrace of Ignatieff's "civic nation" is a possible formula for Western suicide.

It could also be noted that all but one of the areas Ignatieff visits are European. He is thus selectively condemning European nationalisms, where he might have visited South Africa, for example, where radical black nationalism threatens genocide against the white "settlers" and the Asians, as well as the Zulus — seen as "collaborators." He might also have described some of the black radicalism in the United States, flourishing in those "cosmopolitan world-cities" praised by him, with its strange theories and intense hatred of Europeans and European civilization. He might have written about any of several murderous ethnic conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. He also does not visit one of the most inflamed parts of the world as far as intercommunal conflict is concerned: the State of Israel, with its hostile Palestinian population.

Nevertheless, Ignatieff writes with much sympathy and sensitivity to what he clearly sees as the more positive aspects of the spirit of nationalism,

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and some of his passages are quite striking and even moving. Unfortunately, in his journeys to those parts of the world still animated by nationalism — to a greater or lesser degree — he misses the central reality of the contemporary world: the onrushing assimilation to one mode of North American-style, consumption-based existence, which is probably a cause of the increasing intensity and radicalization of such nationalisms (and religious fundamentalisms) which have not entirely succumbed to it.

William Pfaff is a highly placed writer and polemicist, writing for *The New Yorker* since 1971, for *The International Herald Tribune* (syndicated by the *Los Angeles Times*), and being a former editor of *Commonweal.* His earlier book, *Barbarian Sentiments*, was a National Book Award finalist, and in French translation won the City of Geneva's Prix Jean-Jacques Rousseau as the best political work of 1989-90.

Pfaff acknowledges his work to be of the type of "the conjectures of dilettantes," hence there is no footnoting apparatus, just some unnumbered discursive footnotes, and a list of works cited. There is, however, an index. Each of the nine chapters covers a huge topic on which there is a vast literature, so the whole book is really of the genre of the grand essay. One needs at least a good general knowledge of history to make sense of the book.

The chapters deal with, in rapid succession, "Nationalism"; "Nations and Nationalism"; "Internationalism"; "Hapsburg and Ottoman Internationalism"; "The Ottoman Aftermath"; "Asian and African Nationalism"; "American Nationalism"; "Liberal Internationalism"; and "Progress" — a truly world-historical scope. Pfaff recognizes that nationalism can be the source of the most sublime sentiments, as well as the most brutal behaviors. However, the thrust of his analysis seems to be to try to rob nationalism of its power, particularly in the European context, by delimiting it to a certain comparatively narrow time-period and intellectual origin (i.e. German Romanticism). He is at pains to prove that nationalism almost never has any ethnic basis, and that most Europeans are generally "mongrels", i.e. an almost infinite variety of admixtures. This ignores the painfully obvious fact that the intermixture of largely similar Anglo-Saxons and Celts (for example) over centuries is of an entirely different kind than that of hugely dissimilar white Europeans and sub-Saharan Africans, occuring in a very short period of time.

For example, he does say that

> *...[s]ince 1945 Britain has acquired Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and West Indian minorities (African and Indo-Pakistani in origin), a recolonization of the colonizer by the colonized - a phenomenon experienced by some of the other former colonial powers as well*(p. 19).

But this comes right after the passage speaking about "Norman French (which is to say Scandinavian) rule and colonization in 1066", the two phenomena being considered as more-or-less equivalent in relation to English national identity.

The credit which Pfaff gives to nationalism is in its overcoming of what he considers to be the internationalist ideologies of Nazism (so described because of its universalistic and transnational focus on Nordic racialism) and Communism. On the other hand, he strongly insists on considering the Vietnam conflict as one of Vietnamese nationalism against a westernizing America, in which he probably overestimates the role of nationalism, considering the extreme brutality of the Vietnamese Communists against their own people.

Pfaff makes some remarkably astute observations about America, for example, that it has existed as at least three successive, almost entirely different societies, very tenuously connected to each other. He writes sympathetically of the Southern "nation", clearly identifying the Civil War and the resultant destruction of the Old South as the birth of a new America. Tracing America's evolution as a whole, he writes:

> *What originally was an Enlightenment, North European, white Protestant Christian society with a formal commitment to an historically identifiable set of intellectual as well as political values has become something quite different...increasingly as the consequence of choices made: ...secularism and materialism, a market test for values, a non-directive education, non-European immigration, and most recently...the effort to adopt a multiculturalist and multiracialist social system* (pp. 165-166).

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A European nationalist would see this as a precipitous decline, possibly resulting from the inelectable progressive logic of the ideological underpinnings of the American Founding, which the newest America, "the Left's last utopia" (in John Gray's phrase), has attempted to extend across the entire planet.

If anything, Pfaff is too optimistic.

> *The modern western nation...provides defense, civil order, a system of justice...it demands solidarity among citizens, which means their willingness to accept the moral and legal norms of the collectivity, to pay taxes...and to come to the common defense* (p. 23).

Looking at much of the United States today, one would be hard-pressed to say that it meets even these strictly formal criteria of a state. It increasingly seems that, to have a real state — as opposed to a congeries of therapeutic and managerial bureaucracies — one requires a real, more-or-less homogenous nation. Pfaff then, misses the point that the central struggle for most Europeans today is to restore or preserve their increasingly diluted and weakened collective identities, as opposed to trying to establish further liberal checks on such collectivities and their actions, as he argues for in his second-last chapter. The maximal danger today is the complete *déracinement* of Europeans (and, to a lesser extent, of other once-rooted peoples) as a result of the incredible pressures of what has been called "McWorld" — the loss of their essential *identity*, as opposed to the depredations of Serb warlords or of a Zhirinovsky in the backwaters, though the latter phenomena could also certainly be opposed with a martial vigor now sadly lacking in the apparently "post-historical" West. ■

Environment, Overpopulation, Migration Could Cause Chaos in the 21st Century

"The Coming Anarchy: Nations break up under the tidal flow of refugees from environmental and social disaster. As borders crumble, another type of boundary is erected — a wall of disease. Wars are fought over scarce resources, especially water, and war itself becomes continuous with crime, as armed bands of stateless marauders clash with the private security forces of the elites. A preview of the first decades of the twenty-first century."

With this image, *The Atlantic Monthly* announces the lead article of its February 1994 issue, "The Coming Anarchy" by Robert D. Kaplan. By citing examples from around the globe including West Africa, Turkey and inland China, Kaplan makes a compelling argument for how overpopulation and environmental degradation will destroy what we understand as bordered nations etched onto a predominantly stagnant world map.

For years, authors and academics have described the dangers of environmental scarcity; however, for the most part they have concentrated on the concept of "carrying capacity" or how many creatures can be supported without degrading the natural, social, and cultural environment. Kaplan broaches little-examined terrain by arguing that the very fabric of our social system and our notion of government will be ripped apart over these issues.

Building on the recent articles by Samuel Huntington in *Foreign Affairs* (December 1993) and Thomas Fraser-Dixon in the Fall 1991 issue of *International Security*, Kaplan classifies "surging populations, spreading disease, deforestation and soil erosion, water depletion, air pollution" as "developments that will prompt mass migration and, in turn, incite group conflicts." He sees these problems as the core foreign policy challenge in the twenty-first century.

— from the newsletter of FAIR (Federation for American Immigration Reform)

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Brent Nelson has written extensively on immigration-related issues including Assimilation: The Ideal and the Reality. *Dr. Nelson's latest book,* America Balkanized: Immigration's Challenge to Government, *is on press.*

Downsizing the American Dream

A Book Review by Brent Nelson

THE ENDANGERED AMERICAN DREAM:
HOW TO STOP THE UNITED STATES FROM
BECOMING A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY
AND HOW TO WIN
THE GEO-ECONOMIC STRUGGLE
FOR INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY
By Edward N. Luttwak
New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993
365 pages, $24.00

The following thought-provoking paragraph from Edward Luttwak's *The Endangered American Dream* defines the dream, tells why it is endangered, and warns of the consequences of its endangerment:

> *To hope is human, but to expect a fair share in an ever increasing prosperity is distinctly American. If that ambition is relentlessly denied, the political consequences can hardly fail to be catastrophic. After all, Americans have no shared national culture to unite them as the French or Italians have — there are many different cultures in our pluralist society. Nor can Americans rely on ethnic solidarity alone, as the Japanese say they can — we have many different ethnic origins. What Americans have in common are their shared beliefs, above all in equality of opportunity in the pursuit of affluence. It would be too much to expect that democratic governance would long survive the impoverishment of all Americans except for a minority of fortunate inheritors, talented professionals, brilliant or merely lucky business people, 700,000 often rapacious lawyers, and a few cunning financial manipulators.*

It should be noted that the American dream is not fading for all. The richest one percent of the population is growing richer, while the next highest 19 percent maintains its position, but immiseration is the future faced by 80 percent of the population. Salaries and wages earned by the 80 percent of economically active Americans who are nonsupervisory employees have been in decline for over two decades, a decline that will accelerate. This is the most striking statistic which Luttwak has culled from a mass of statistics. The politically explosive conclusion must be, based on current and long-established trends, that First World America will survive for a minority, but the great mass of Americans will become, at least in their living standards, part of the Third World.

Luttwak devotes the first third of his book to an explanation of the "downsizing" of the American dream, giving most attention to the success enjoyed by Japan. He cites the examples of Japan's FSX project and the European Community's Airbus Industry as evidence that a "national economic policy" can work even when it violates the precepts of free market theorists. Japan and Europe provide evidence that "culture" can "defeat" "economic logic." He concludes that the U.S. has much to learn from the example of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry. In fact, "if forced to argue on one leg, the case for industrial policy can be reduced to one word: Japan."

"Japan and Europe provide evidence that 'culture' can 'defeat' 'economic logic'."

Nonetheless, neither Japan nor the European Community is to be blamed for America's decline. Instead, Luttwak cites, and examines in the remainder of the book, a "long list of self-inflicted wounds that are directly causing the Third-Worldization of America." Among these are "limitless deficits," a lack of both "patient capital" and "diligent labor," the sacrifice of educational standards to "multiculturalism," "a grotesque

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legalism," and "our spectacularly antisocial 'social' programs."

Little attention is given to other factors which also seem to be exerting a downward pull on living standards. Among these are population pressures, causing increases in housing costs; environmental degradation, eventually undermining the source of the nation's relatively inexpensive agricultural produce, which has perhaps always been its greatest blessing for working people; and robotics and computerization, steadily reducing employment opportunities for both blue collar and white collar workers. Obviously, none of these factors militate against Luttwak's thesis that the lower four-fifths of the nation is "going south."

"Luttwak predicts ... a continuing decline of living standards for the four-fifths of Americans who are least politically active."

Many readers of this book will choose to focus their attention on the particular chapter which exposes what they see as the gravest of these ills. Thus, those who believe that regulation is the sole cause of national economic decline may seize upon Luttwak's striking example of how product liability law has destroyed the U.S. general aviation industry. Other readers, who see in a nation's decline only the evidence of some collective moral failing, may give inordinate attention to Luttwak's chapter on "the savings gap." Luttwak himself sees the gap's origin in a deficit of "Calvinist self-restraint," but offers no theory to explain why the American people are now more improvident than they were in the past.

Luttwak, however, does not yield to the temptation to blame the victims (the U.S. working population), who suffer from policies not of their making. Among these policies are free trade and uncontrolled immigration. He concisely and cogently explains why the free trade agreement with Mexico can only further lower U.S. wages and salaries: "If the profuse abundance of Mexican labor and the meager quantities of Mexican capital are both added to American labor and capital within a common economic zone, the total supply of labor will have increased much more than the total supply of capital." Luttwak does not suggest that there is any bad faith in the governing elite's promotion of free trade, but he does take that stance with regard to uncontrolled immigration, concluding that "in reality, it cannot be said that the United States government is seriously or even half-seriously trying to stop illegal immigration from Mexico."

Although the constituency that would benefit from Luttwak's proposed national economic policy encompasses a majority of the nation, it may be difficult to build a political coalition dedicated to putting it into practice. Luttwak's "geo-economic" strategy has too much nationalism to be acceptable to many liberals, and too much governmental intervention into the economy to please most conservatives. The polarities of left and right neglect the nation's vital center, where most Americans are to be found, but it is those polarities which mobilize political forces while the center too often remains a relatively inert "middle mass."

It is likely that many people who should read this book will not, unjustly dismissing it as yet another example of the genre of works which announce an imminent economic collapse. What Luttwak predicts, however, is not a collapse, but a continuing decline of living standards for the four-fifths of Americans who are least politically active. The relative inactivity of the lower four-fifths and the gradualness of their immiseration may enable an uncaring elite to muddle through for a few more decades with only a few notable mishaps.

Obviously, those members of the American elite who continue to support the nationally erosive policies of free trade and uncontrolled immigration do not share Luttwak's fear of catastrophic political consequences. Like Mr. Micawber, they know that "something will turn up" to dispel all such visions of doom. However, what national cohesion will remain if, in the post-Cold War age, the American dream is the only source of national unity? If most Americans cease to believe in that dream, a kind of societal entropy may develop which, in itself, even in the absence of any violence or catastrophe, may cause America to "self-destruct." When the great masses of a nation-state no longer feel that they have a stake in the system, the sheer weight of their sullen unconcern can be enough to bring it tumbling down. ■

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Paul Gottfried is professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania and editor-in-chief of This World.

Who Will Speak for Middle America?

A Book Review by Paul Gottfried

BEAUTIFUL LOSERS: ESSAYS ON THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN CONSERVATISM
By Samuel Francis
Columbia, Missouri:
University of Missouri Press, 1993
237 pages, $37.50

Though widely read as a syndicated columnist, Samuel T. Francis does not enjoy mainstream journalistic respectability. He is not invited onto TV talk shows, even those featuring conservative columnists, and is not part of the political conversation between what Francis regards as the almost (ideologically) indistinguishable right and left. His voice and demeanor, like his political commentary, are unchangingly glum, and his views of the current "conservative movement" so unrelievedly negative that members of that movement will not likely greet this anthology with enthusiasm. Despite undisguised contempt for the "happy talk" of those resigned to being "beautiful losers," what Francis says about the American right is entirely on target. His anthology of essays assails almost every received assumption of respectable N.Y. - D.C. conservatism, especially of its neoconservative kingmakers. He stresses that the Reagan "conservative revolution" actually increased the size and scope of the managerial welfare state. He believes that the defenders of the Reagan presidency contributed to the dangerous illusion that Ronald Reagan had begun to roll back the state created by FDR. In fact, according to Francis, Reagan hardly touched the Great Society, except at the edges, let alone the New Deal, and he left Americans with a greater tax burden (if one factors in added Social Security payments) than had existed in the '70s. Francis is also bothered by the fact that in recent years conservative foundations have spilled rivulets of ink defending the imperial presidency. Francis insists that there is little difference between Republican and Democratic executive bureaucracies, even if leadership changes at the top. Though he may not be aware of it, an exhaustively researched study by Larry M. Schwab published by Transaction Publishers (1991) makes exactly the same argument.

Francis is particularly devastating in mocking self-congratulating conservatives whose major interest in life is securing bureaucratic advancement and federal funds under Republican administrations. Such conservatives are depicted as having no interest in dismantling the welfare state or in antagonizing liberal mediacrats, upon whom they are socially and professionally dependent. Thus they vie with each other in appearing "compassionate," and "sensitive" to designated minorities, and in justifying the political status quo. Like George Will, one of Francis's targets, they are "beautiful losers" because their concerns are tied up with the present left-liberal ascendancy.

Moreover, members of the respectable conservative movement, as opposed to Francis's Middle American counterrevolutionaries, are mere appendages of the political class. Representatives of the "harmless persuasion," they staff the public administration, and produce variations on liberal public policies to create the appearance of opposition within an unelected permanent administrative state and its media apparatus. And for Francis there is no significant difference between the media and the political class: both are committed to the transfer of power from once self-governing communities to the social engineering judges and bureaucrats who have amassed effective control over American society. Both the vision of a leveled, homogenized humankind and the belief in managerial manipulation are, for Francis, the defining characteristics of the new class, in its administrative and mediacratic roles.

Significantly, Francis views large corporations as tacit allies in this managerial takeover. The corporate boards that pour money into liberal foundations and neoconservative initiatives for global democracy, he maintains, are supporting changes which they believe will advance their own interests. Multinational corporations favor the breakdown of

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regionalism, local loyalties, and favor liberal immigration, governmentally-brokered freetrade agreements like NAFTA, and a world consumer culture. If not passionately in favor of everything done and said by government administrators and mediacrats, the directors of large corporations, as typified by Lee Iacocca, Felix Rohatyn, and David Rockefeller are generally happy with a managerially centralized American government and society. It removes the cultural lumpiness that stands in the way of creating a docile consumer public.

Despite my general agreement with this analysis, there is a problem in it that should be noted. Francis pushes too far a belief, which he shares with his mentor James Burnham as well as with Karl Marx and the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, that the dominant class pursues its material and political interests no matter what kinds of fanciful rationales it uses to mask them. Dan Himmelfarb, in the February issue of *Commentary*, cites Francis's selective use of radical social analysts to present him as a fellow traveler of the far left. The charge is, of course, ludicrous, given the total lack of political correctness in all of Francis's writing and the hostility vented on him by liberal journalists. Nonetheless, it can be objected that Francis does not pay sufficient attention to culture. A biographer of James Burnham, whom he praises in this volume, Francis points to the significance of a "managerial revolution" as the shaping event of the twentieth century. He treats cultural and moral changes as merely incidental to the quest and exercise of power; and he describes himself as an "anti-modern modernist," who accepts a demystified reality but does not believe that human nature is either rational or good.

What should make Sam Francis's anthology particularly informative to *The Social Contract* readers is his awareness of the connection between changing immigration policies and the growth of the managerial state. Francis provides a context for the liberalization of immigration laws, which has occurred since the seventies. State managers and their social worker and educationist loyalists have worked in conjunction with corporate business interests, to change the makeup of American society and to create for themselves an expanding clientele.

Although Francis may not pay enough attention to the cultural upheavals preparing the way for these changes, he does grasp the role of immigration as a factor in the consolidation of managerial power. Bilingualism, mediation between ethnic and racial groups, and the pushing of multiculturalism (really government-mandated monoculturalism), are all activities fostered by federal agencies and their state affiliates for their own benefit. Anything that smacks of multiculturalism and open borders, Francis argues, can also count on at least some support from big business. A cheap work force, with welfare costs distributed among the general population, and a mixing of world populations are appealing to those seeking to cut production expenses and to fashion a larger international market. Such observations, sprinkled throughout the essays, make the entire volume worth reading. They also explain the author's justified reputation as a hardened counter-revolutionary. ■

Population Growth and Food

If we just want to maintain the current level of hunger, it is obvious that we need to increase the food production of the world by 70 percent [by the year 2025 to match population increases].

— Jose T. Esquinas-Alcazar
U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization

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John Rohe is a practicing attorney in Petoskey, Michigan, and an activist in environmental concerns.

The Tide Is Up

A Book Review by John Rohe

WILL AMERICA DROWN?
IMMIGRATION AND THE THIRD WORLD
POPULATION EXPLOSION
Edited by Humphrey Dalton
Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1993
(P.O. Box 34070, NW, Washington, DC 20043)
122 pp, $12.50

Will America Drown? is more than a hydrological metaphor. It is a collection of essays addressing the risks of Third World immigration at rates exceeding America's assimilative capacity. Editor Humphrey Dalton contributed the introduction and postscript to fourteen essays by ten other authors. The essays address the risk of exceeding our cultural, as distinguished from biological, carrying capacity.

The threat of America's submersion is graphically illustrated by the world population chart on the opening page which depicts the driving force underlying immigration: exponential growth between 400 B.C. and 2,000 A.D. A stable, generally horizontal line shows the gradual population growth during most of history. Then we arrive at the modern era when the graph shows the dramatic surge upward. But it is in countries which lack enduring democratic traditions where the burgeoning population is producing a prospective wave of immigrants.

The essays note a 1992 Roper Poll finding that 75 percent of Americans oppose immigration increases. The United States Congress has unresponsively adopted a seemingly purposeful dilution of culture under current immigration policies. Could this threaten the foundation of American traditions and democracy? Might democracy just as easily have emerged in Third World civilizations? Perhaps, however, the notion lacks historical support. Democracy, and its attendant liberties, is now asked to survive a voyage into yet uncharted cultural waters. We are conducting an experiment on culture, democracy, constitutional freedoms, criminal justice systems, liberties and the psyche of a nation — quite indifferent to where we came from and where we're headed.

Will America Drown? focuses on the root causes of our cultural crisis and our apparent unwillingness to deal responsibly with the issues.

The essays illuminate our inconsistent thought patterns on immigration. We are of a divided mind. We lament increases in unemployment, yet lack the fortitude to contemplate the inevitable impact of increased immigration on the unemployed. We have become the world's largest debtor nation yet pay little attention to the cause of recent reversals to our economic health. Educational performance dwindles while crime flourishes. A "welfare magnet" draws immigrants through our porous borders as the needy in this country go unattended. The $30,000 stipend paid to Chinese immigrant smugglers is a worthwhile investment when the smuggled immediately have access to their share of America's infrastructure (estimated to be worth $40,000 per person). The looming threat of the federal debt, which coincidentally increases at much the same exponential rate as world population, remains uncontrollable. Although U.S. border patrols currently apprehend over 3,000 illegal immigrants daily, 70 percent of the births in Los Angeles' county-run hospitals are still to illegal aliens.

"[The book] focuses on the root causes of our cultural crisis and our apparent unwillingness to deal responsibly with the issues."

The essays in *Will America Drown?* address these issues and present a compelling case for responsible policies of immigration reform. The issue, as seen by this reviewer, is not whether we should be compassionate, but rather whether our compassion should remain myopic.

This work prompts the reader to ponder the

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fundamental underpinnings of democratic conventions and the institutions of freedom. As an exponentially increasing number of migrants avail themselves of the institutions of freedom and liberty in America, do we have a responsibility to the institutions themselves? To maintain the foundations of the institutions? To maintain respect for a hard-fought victory? To recognize traditions of education and cultivated respect? To maintain a common bond in our language? To afford immigrants a meaningful opportunity to assimilate and to acquire a stake in democratic traditions? If not, then the prevailing assumption must be that the institutions of freedom, liberty, compassion and democracy can be expected to simply keep churning, much like a perpetual motion machine.

At 122 pages, *Will America Drown?* makes a good introduction to the immigration topic, and yet contains information and insights that will be of interest to the committed enthusiast for immigration reform. Its size allows it to serve as a worthwhile gift for a friend who may wonder why you're campaigning for immigration reform.

* * *

> *These facts will present us with some very stark decisions. Is America to remain (at least relatively) a spacious, open landscape, or will our country of 30 years hence be a kind of industrialized Bangladesh? At the rate we are gobbling up farmland for the sake of tract houses and shopping malls, the physical basis for diversified farming will naturally diminish. At the same time, the need to intensely cultivate, chemically fertilize, and spray against insects on the remaining farmland so as to be able to feed ever greater numbers of people may eventually lead to a catastrophe similar to the dustbowl of the 1920s and '30s, which was principally caused by over-cultivation during World War I.... [D]o we really want to pump the Great Plains aquifers dry and let millions of tons of soil wash into the Gulf of Mexico to feed a burgeoning Third World population inside and outside our borders?*

— From "Invasion U.S.A.: The Farce of Political Asylum" by George Sunderland, one of the essays in *Will America Drown.* ■

Paradise Lost

A Magazine Essay Reviewed by Wayne Lutton

"The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau"
By Roy Beck
The Atlantic Monthly, April 1994, pp.84-97.

According to the 1980 Census, Wausau, Wisconsin was the least ethnically diverse city in the United States, with less than one percent of its population being other than of European descent. And the city was enjoying the benefits of a homogeneous, stable population, including little crime and a modest social services burden, with no demands to increase taxes to support the expansion of schools and infrastructure. To many residents, Wausau was something close to "paradise," where steady employment was available and one could raise a family in pleasant surroundings.

That Wausau is now history, thanks to a heavy influx of Asian immigrants, mainly Hmong tribes-people from Laos. How immigration has transformed Wausau is related by Roy Beck in the April issue of *The Atlantic.*

Beck reveals how Lutheran and Catholic refugee agencies brought the first Asians to the community. In time, word circulated among refugees that Wausau was a place where they could congregate with fellow Hmong and enjoy generous welfare benefits provided by the descendants of the areas English and German settlers. And with "family reunification" being a primary official goal of U.S. immigration policy, the Hmong's large families have turned what began as a trickle into a floodtide of immigration.

Wausau's residents were not consulted about the matter. Local taxes are skyrocketing to accommodate the immigrant-fueled increase in the public school population, criminal gang activity has emerged, and the welfare-use rate for immigrants is sixteen times that of the native population. The Hmong have one of the highest birth-rates of any ethnic group in the world, with pregnancies being reported as early as the sixth grade.

What has happened to Wausau is being repeated in other non-coastal areas that have witnessed a recent influx of immigrants. If, in fact, "all politics is local," then a consequence of this unhappy development may be the emergence of a drive for genuine immigration control. ■

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An Immigration Battle Won

A Book Review by Wayne Lutton

THE 'KOMAGATA MARU' INCIDENT:
A CANADIAN IMMIGRATION
BATTLE REVISITED
by Robert Jarvis
C-FAR (P.O.Box 332,
Rexdale, Ontario M9W 5L3, Canada)
48 pages, $5.00

Too often, past efforts to restrict immigration to the United States, Canada, and Australia have been dismissed as the handiwork of "nativists" and "racists." Researcher Robert Jarvis is writing a new history of the Canadian immigration restriction movement. Instead of hoarding his findings and waiting to issue a *magnum opus*, he has been releasing his revised history as a series of monographs. *The 'Komagata Maru' Incident* is the second installment.

The *Komagata Maru* was a Japanese-owned, Hong Kong-based steamer chartered in March 1914 by Punjabi native Gurdit Singh Sarhali to bring a boatload of East Indians to British Columbia. Singh recruited passengers from among Hong Kong's Indian community. Charging $100 per person, almost twice the standard third-class fare on a commercial passenger liner, 376 men (Sikhs and Hindus, with 25 Moslems) set sail from Yokohama on May 3, 1914 and reached Victoria, British Columbia on May 21. However, the arrival of the *Komagata Maru* was met by protesters and the East Indians were not permitted to disembark. Asian immigration had sparked widespread opposition among virtually all segments of British Columbian society. Trade unionists took the lead in forming the Asiatic Exclusion League, which mustered support across the Pacific Northwest, on both sides of the border.

Asian immigration had been seen by big business (exemplified by coal baron Robert Dunsmuir) as a means of increasing profits and undercutting union-led wage and benefits reforms. Trans-Pacific shipping companies, such as the steamer line founded by the Canadian Pacific Railway, promoted heavy Asian immigration, promising potential passengers (most of whom were illiterate peasants who knew little or no English) that they would be welcomed in North America where high wage jobs were awaiting them.

Bowing to popular public demand, on December 8, 1913 the Canadian government issued an order-in-council prohibiting the immigration of all "artisan or general unskilled labour classes" through all ports of entry in British Columbia. On January 7, 1914, a ban on "continuous journey" was reenacted. The laws, which continued in effect throughout the First World War, achieved the desired effect of ending Asian immigration.

Gurdit Singh, as well as the Hong Kong government, knew that these laws meant that the *Komagata Maru*'s passengers could not be legally admitted to Canada. Singh intended to mount a court challenge to the orders-in-council and hoped that his charges would be allowed to "crash the gate."

Instead, the Victoria Trades & Labour Congress insisted that the Dominion government enforce the laws restricting immigration. Malcolm Reid, head of the B.C. Immigration Department, refused to allow the passengers to disembark and kept the ship anchored off shore to prevent any surreptitious landings. On July 6, 1914, the Court of Appeal unanimously upheld the validity of the steps taken to prevent the landing of the *Komagata Maru*'s passengers. On July 23, 1914, having exhausted all appeals, the ship set sail for the return voyage to the Orient, arriving outside of Calcutta in late September.

But this was not the end of the story. Vancouver's East Indian community swore revenge. At 10:15 a.m. on October 21, 1914, William Hopkinson, an immigration inspector who could interpret Hindi, Punjabi, and Gurukhi, was assassinated at the entrance to the Provincial Courthouse by Mewa Singh. Singh and three other Sikhs were apprehended and Singh was convicted and hanged for the murder the following January.

Today, the terrorist is honored by Canada's expanding Sikh community as a hero and Vancouver Sikhs observe an annual Mewa Singh Martyr Day.

As Paul Fromm observes in his introduction to this monograph, "The eventual decision by waffling federal authorities to expel the *Komagata Maru* was a reluctant bow to overwhelming public opinion, that

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was firmly opposed to changing B.C.'s population. There are lessons here for today, as we see elitist politicians even more eager than their counterparts eighty years ago, to impose a highly unpopular immigration policy on Canadians."

Addressing the question of the prohibition of Asian immigration by the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the distinguished British historian Geoffrey Barraclough noted in *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (Penguin Books, 1964/1982) that population pressures in Asia fueled the desire of millions of people to emigrate to North America and Australia-New Zealand. "The immediate response of the countries concerned was to erect a ring fence of stringent immigration laws and regulations so framed as to exclude non-Europeans... But for these restrictions," Professor Barraclough concluded,"it seems almost certain that by that date [the mid-1930s], the population of the western seaboard of North America would have been largely Asiatic."

Readers in the United States, and elsewhere, will find much of interest in Jarvis' well-written monograph. We look forward to the publication of further chapters in his history of immigration restriction. ■

Reality Check

Video Review by Wayne Lutton

FOREIGN AID & THE REALITY
OF OVERPOPULATION
by Professor Garrett Hardin
Approximately 75 minutes, $20.00
Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform (C-FAR)
P.O. Box 332, Rexdale, Ontario M9W 5L3 Canada

Since the publication of his landmark paper,"The Tragedy of the Commons," (*Science*, 1968) Garrett Hardin has been among the foremost critics of Western foreign aid programs. Last fall Professor Hardin addressed a conference on Immigration & Population sponsored by the Canadian group, Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform (C-FAR). His remarks are now available in video format.

Professor Hardin opens his remarks by pointing out that the media consistently fail to show the connection between overpopulation and many human disasters. He cites the treatment accorded the casualties of storm and earthquakes in the Indian subcontinent. As he explains, had the people been living away from the flood plains, or in homes constructed of pliable wood instead of the cement blocks which came crashing down on their occupants, few would have died. The media reported that floods and earthquakes killed the hapless folk. Hardin argues that it would be more accurate to say that overpopulation was the culprit, since people would not have been living in frequently-flooded areas if they didn't have to. And wood should have been available for housing, were it not in very short supply thanks to decades of overharvesting to meet the past demands made by India's too numerous inhabitants. But, he notes, the connection between population density and resource availability is never made: "no one ever dies of overpopulation," he says.

Reviewing Western foreign aid programs, he points out that supporters refuse to ask the question,"And then, what?" when coming up with policy proposals. He gives the example of various expensive dam projects, such as the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, which ended up displacing people from their farmlands, led to salinization of heavily irrigated and over-fertilized land, and encouraged additional population growth. Whatever immediate benefits may be attributed to the projects have been more than offset by the long-term bad consequences.

Turning to Western intervention in Somalia and Ethiopia, he cautions that food rushed in today only makes it more certain that many will starve tomorrow. Hardin admits that he cannot recall an instance when foreign aid actually did any good over an extended period of time. His conclusion is that, aside from encouraging birth-control, Western nations would be best advised to get out of the foreign aid business altogether.

Readers of *The Social Contract* will want to order a copy of this video to share with their friends and associates. Contemporary newsreel footage compliments Dr. Hardin's presentation. This is a good way to introduce others to the concept of "carrying capacity" (how many people a given area can support without outside aid) and the problems associated with population growth. After seeing this video, viewers should then be encouraged to read Garrett Hardin's latest book, *Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Population Taboos* (Oxford University Press, 1993). ■

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Joseph Wayne Smith is a visiting scholar in the department of philosophy, the Flinders University of South Australia. Evonne Moore is an environmental policy consukltant with Moore and Gunnell in Adelaide, South Australia.

Multiculturalism, Migration and Madness: Can Australia Survive?

A Book Review by Evonne Moore and Joseph Wayne Smith

REINVENTING AUSTRALIA
By Hugh MacKay
Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1993
325 pages, Aus.$ 16.95

Australia's cultural identity is up for grabs. While the Republicans urge an advance into their Brave New World, many of us remain torn between abandoning our cultural heritage and opting for change. Multiculturalism too is redefining our identity. Many Australians are worried about the long-term consequences of multiculturalism and the changing racial composition of our population. They resent not being allowed to participate in the debate on immigration. These are some of the intriguing findings of social researcher Hugh MacKay. His latest book, based on research carried out since 1979, provides valuable insights into the attitudes of ordinary Australians to the profound social changes which this country has undergone in the past twenty years.

MacKay argues that the closing decades of the twentieth century have been a period of social, cultural, political and economic upheaval entailing a radical redefinition of the "the Australian way of life" (p.6). As a result, many Australians are experiencing stress and insecurity. MacKay believes that the evidence for what he calls the "last straw syndrome" (p.13) are rising levels of domestic violence, serious assault, child abuse, and drug abuse. The stress of being "swept along on the tide of relentless change" (p.18) has created a confused sense of identity, lack of sense of purpose and "a growing feeling of isolation and alienation among Australians, especially young Australians" (p.19). As a culture, MacKay argues, we have lost our way.

MacKay contends that the new concept of multiculturalism is an uncomfortable one for many Australians. By contrast, the immediate post war migrant wave was based on the philosophy of assimilation. Migrants were expected to blend into the Australian community as quickly as possible. While this was not always easy or even possible for some migrants, the idea of assimilation reassured Australians that large-scale immigration posed no threat to the Australian way of life. Under the philosophy of multiculturalism, however, migrants are encouraged to view their ethnicity and their cultural differences from the Australian community as the basis of their strength and identity:

> *Now that 'assimilation' has become a dirty word, such a [policy] shift raises deep questions about the Australian identity because it calls on Australians to re-define their long-standing concept of what an Australian is and their long-cherished stereotypes, myths and legends about the Australian character, the Australian style and the Australian ethos.*

MacKay argues that one reason why Australians remain unenthusiastic about multiculturalism is rising Asian immigration:

> *Australians' resistance to Asian migration is easy to understand, given their well-established pattern of attitudes towards migration. Asians are seen as being so physically different from Europeans as to make their assimilation difficult; their cultural heritage is assumed to be quite unlike that of traditional Australian racial groups ... their attitude towards Australians is felt to be aloof and ungiving ... When confronted with an ethnic and cultural group which is regarded as being so obviously different from the Australian mainstream, Australians begin to*

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wonder whether their multiculturalism can extend this far. They revive the fear that Australia may become a number of separate cultures within one society, to an extent which will inevitably lead to tensions and conflicts (pp.160-161).

He points out that many Australians fear that multiculturalism may encourage the perpetuation of ancient ethnic hostilities. Conflict between Serbs and Croats in Australia, for example, angers Australians who believe that migrant groups should be prepared to forgo their differences in the interests of maintaining harmony and unity in their adopted country.

What does it mean to be an Australian? MacKay argues that:

Australians want to believe that being an Australian should imply something more than simply living here: the notion of shared culture seems fundamental to any concept of identifiable society (p.162).

He believes that the supporters and opponents of multiculturalism have to recognize that the point at issue is the degree of "commitment to the ideal of Australian nationhood" (p.164).

In addition to their questioning of multiculturalism, MacKay finds that many Australians support more debate on immigration. To some extent the economic recession has made this possible. But there is still a social taboo about debating aspects of Australia's immigration program. MacKay points out that:

Australians recognize that it is very easy to be branded 'racist' when debating the subject of migration and multiculturalism, and they note with some horror the hostility which was directed at such public figures as Geoffrey Blainey and John Howard when they attempted to open up the migration debate in the late 1980s (p.163).

MacKay finds that Australians believe that the economic recession raises questions about Australia's migrant intake and they would like to see a more open cultural debate on immigration as well as an economic one.

MacKay's book analyzes recent social changes which "have raised big questions about our sense of personal identity and our sense of being a community" (p.22). In addition to multiculturalism and immigration, these include the redefinition of gender roles in the wake of the women's movement, easier divorce, rising unemployment and growing economic inequality. We are only starting to grasp how profound these changes have been. On the economic front alone, MacKay draws attention to the alarming statistic that between 1970 and 1990, one quarter of full-time male jobs disappeared — "an attrition without precedent since the depression of the Thirties" (p.144).

One of the best qualities of this book is MacKay's ability to draw out subtle connections between the factors forcing change and their social effects. He points out that while many of the social changes of the past two decades have been desirable in themselves, their outcomes may not always have been as beneficial as we would have expected. For example, the large-scale entry of married women into the paid workforce, an apparently desirable development in terms of many women's self-fulfillment and equality with men, has increased inequality across households.

"...while many of the social changes of the past two decades have been desirable, their outcomes may not always have been as beneficial as we would have expected."

MacKay believes that growing inequality will produce more urban violence and street gangs as well as further neighborhood segregation of the affluent. We are, he suggests, approaching a "crossroads on the question of social class" (p.149). Whether we follow the United States or choose a more egalitarian road remains to be seen.

The significant redefinitions of Australian society over the past twenty years have involved money, class, cultural identity, gender roles, family life and work. MacKay's book examines all of these. He finds that the new philosophy of environmentalism too has been part of the radical shift in ideas and attitudes of many Australians. Swept along on the furious winds of change for twenty years, many

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Australians are now asking for a re-evaluation of what sort of a society we want to live in. MacKay argues that the call to reconsider our migration policy is, for example, just one sign of a widespread desire to slow down the pace of change and to take stock. He suggests that Australia is passing through a troubled adolescent phase, but is encouraged by signs that more and more people are starting to appreciate that we cannot have it all, that hard decisions need to be taken.

In the last section of his book, MacKay examines the strategies Australians are adopting to help them cope with change. He suggests that the decline of hitherto stable institutions such as full employment and the family has encouraged the return of a "quest for personal values" (p.237). He views the rise of various forms of fundamentalism as a response to people's search for new values to replace the loss of older ones. Environmental and feminist fundamentalists have filled some of the spiritual vacuum. MacKay points out that it is only a small step from fundamentalism to a form of puritanism which demands regulations to control behavior. There is an increasing trend in Australia to regulate behavior in the fields of health, sexual relationships and religious and racial tolerance.

In their search for solutions, many people are seeking to recreate a sense of community. MacKay suggests that the Me-Generation philosophy of the 1960s and 1970s, which stressed individual freedom at the expense of relationships, has been replaced with a recognition of the importance of social bonds in groups and networks. While this is a positive trend, MacKay believes there is some danger that group conflict will increase. The growth of diverse ethnic sub-groups together with the increasing gap between rich and poor have "the potential to add a new dimension to tribal identity and tribal conflict." (p.289). While MacKay does not mention it, the demographic fragmentation of California, brought to a head in well-publicized ethnic riots and courtroom battles, serves as a warning that Australia should try to avoid the path taken by the United States. It is not too late to change our course. ■

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